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Is Gotham Governable?

COMMONWEAL

$2.00 November 19, 1993

IS THIS ANY WAY TO RUN A UNIVERSITY? OR A CHURCH?

A discussion of 'Ex corde ecclesiae' & its ordinances

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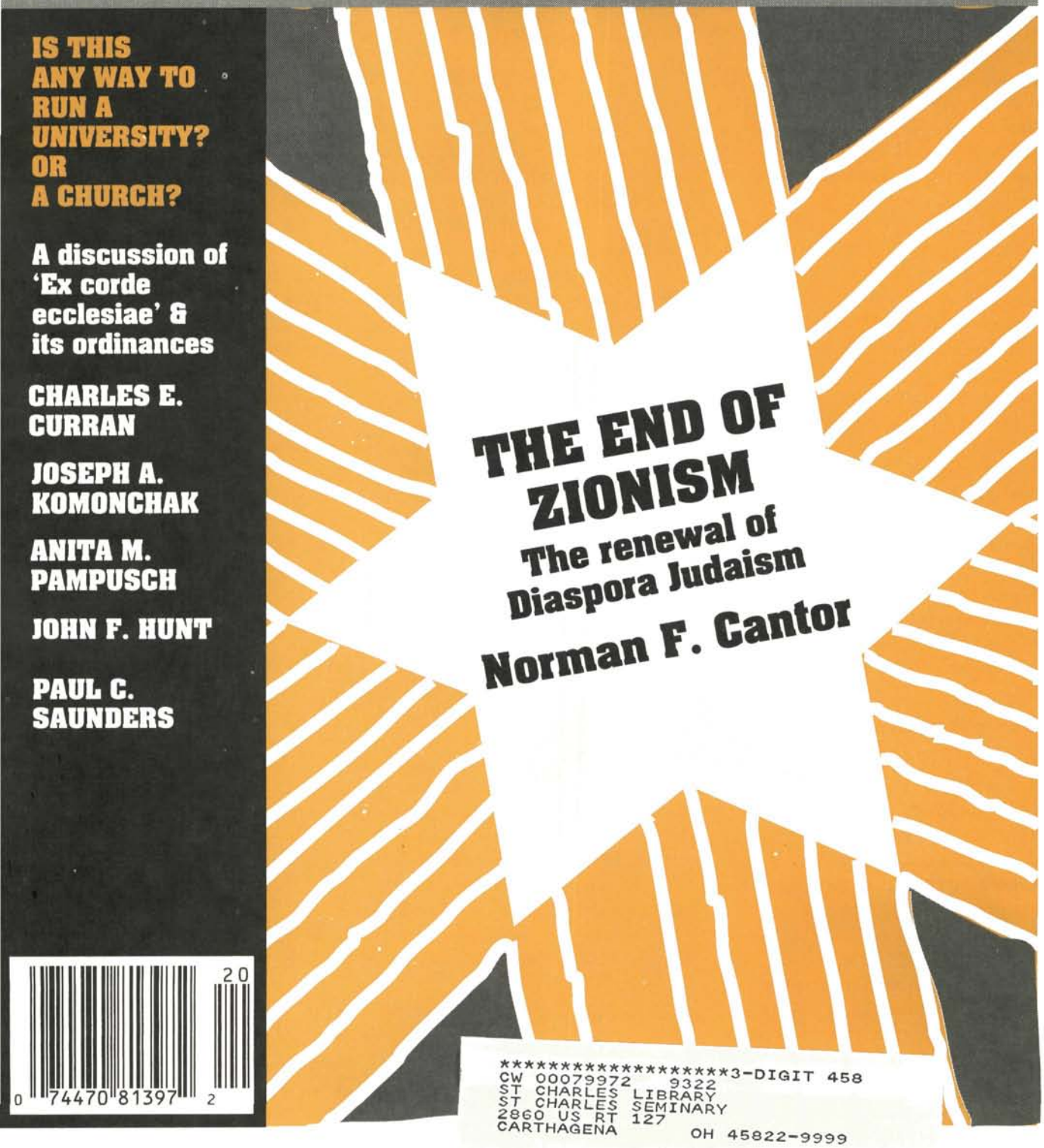

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CORRESPONDENCE

The real Ashrawi rises

Sarnia, Ontario

To the Editors: Having successfully weaned myself a few years ago from a twenty-year subscription to *Time*, I am forced to admit, not without guilt, that my reflections on matters Palestinian centered, in no small part, on idle musings as to how Yassir Arafat could *always* have a three-day growth of beard. My perceptions of Hanan Ashwrawi, courtesy of the six o'clock news, were not much better—a rather formidable lady, whom I somehow considered to be a mouthpiece for Arafat of the oily smile.

Mary Pat Kelly's all-too-brief but remarkable interview with Mrs. Ashwrawi ["The Poet as Diplomat," October 8] revealed an equally remarkable person behind the perception. An articulate scholar, wife, mother, and consummate negotiator, whose understanding of her Christian roots no doubt far surpasses that of many of her "Christian" foes, is the last picture I expected to see. Her deep commitment to peace for her people is more in the tradition of Gandhi, King, and Merton than in the violent paradigm of the Middle East. Perhaps she had as much to do with that reluctant Washington handshake in September as any one other person.

Once again, *Commonweal*, thank you for rescuing me from the wicked snares of the ten-second soundbite! TOM FISCHER

Sesquipedelian Larry

San Mateo, Calif.

To the Editors: Please remind Professor Cunningham and your copy editors that some of us have ordinary M.A. degrees in English. I keep five substantial dictionaries around places where I read. But twice I had to get up out of my chair and go to the closet for the big, twenty-pound, small-print *Webster's* for "invigilate" and "eisegesis" [October 22, comment on *Veritatis splendor*]. RICHARD M. HARNETT

Sophomoric fury? Hey!

Stamford, Conn.

To the Editors: Am I missing something in my reading of the amazing exchange that opens the October 8 Correspondence section? A reader offers an apparently reasonable correction of what he sincerely believes is a Latin grammatical mistake, and *Commonweal* replies with an uncharacteristic outburst of sophomoric, sarcastic fury. Is there something you're not telling us? Or was your summer intern a wiseguy classics major?

JOHN ROUSMANIERE

From the editors: The correction was not just apparently reasonable, it was entirely reasonable, and correct, and our lengthy and learned essay in response—if read with proper care—could be seen to be a groveling admission of responsibility and, indeed, guilt, and if anyone speaks to the contrary, *anathema sit*.

Murky prose

New Providence, N.J.

To the Editors: Would you be so kind as to interpret for me what appears to be convoluted or cryptic rhetoric in your editorial [October 22] on *Veritatis splendor*? After noting the encyclical's insistence on the existence of objective moral norms, the editorial says millions of people around the world (and not only Catholics) still live by moral rules prohibiting murder, theft, lying, adultery, etc., and then adds: "...though the prohibited behaviors are not necessarily subsumed under the rubric of intrinsically immoral acts."

What does this say, please? I am not tuned in to your frequency of expression.

JOSEPH JACKSON

The editors reply:

Yes, that clause could have been a lot clearer, and the editorial—as you will see—would have been a lot longer.

The clause refers to the fact that some ethicists who agree on the existence of objective moral norms nevertheless don't favor the use of the term "intrinsically evil acts" (cf. the essay by Stanley Hauerwas in the same issue of *Commonweal*). Too great insistence on the intrinsic evil of a given act, they argue, may obscure the effect of circumstances on the moral quality of the act. "Theft," for example, can be defined simply as the taking of property not one's own, but the act so defined is not always wrong (e.g., a woman who takes another's property to keep her child from starving has not done an evil thing). So the act of theft should be redefined as the taking of property not one's own *against the reasonable will of its owner.* (See "*Veritatis Splendor* and Moral Theology," by Richard A. McCormick, *America*, October 30.)

This may sound all too obvious. It gets relevant in a discussion of *Veritatis splendor* because of the encyclical's insistence that contraceptive intercourse, among other behaviors, is intrinsically evil and therefore always sinful, regardless of circum-

(Continued on page 31)

Correction: Because of a production error, William F. May was incorrectly identified in October 22, 1993, issue. He is currently Cary M. Macquire University professor of ethics, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, and author of *The Patient's Ordeal* (Indiana University Press).

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COMMONWEAL

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Verdicts & videos

The verdicts in Los Angeles last month in the case of truck-driver Reginald O. Denny and seven other beating victims during the 1992 riots brought reassurance to neither Los Angeles nor the nation. Significant questions not only linger following the long, dramatic trial, but other disturbing questions have risen from its spent embers. Those questions have to do with whether justice can be achieved in such a charged atmosphere; whether bridging the racial fissures in the nation's psyche can be advanced by such trials; and whether intent and extenuating circumstances can so distance a person from the objective nature of his or her act that—as with the proverbial infinite number of points on a line—it may be impossible for a jury actually to connect the two.

Was justice served? Perhaps. Both of the accused, Damian M. Williams and Henry K. Watson, were convicted, albeit on lesser counts. In the heat of anger and revulsion that followed the riot—a cataclysm that claimed over fifty lives and caused damage in excess of $1 billion—the L.A. district attorney piled on too many (fifteen) and perhaps unsustainable (e.g., attempted murder) charges. That was what the jury decided, in spite of over forty minutes of videotape shown at the trial which linked the defendants to the alleged beatings. As Mr. Williams's lawyer, Edi M.O. Faal, convinced the jury: "You can't prove a case by relying on a videotape." Prosecutors should be advised that prolonged exposure to such tapes inures juries, much as it did in the case of the police officers tried for beating Rodney King.

Yet it was the videotapes in both cases that captured the horror of the scenes. Those tapes will not soon fade from most people's memories. They are a telling exhibition of inhumanity. And if there is any doubt about the reality of such brutality, ask the defendants in both cases whether they would change places with the victims. Prosecutors must learn to use these materials more adeptly, employing them with greater modesty and restraint. They must also pick their indictments with care.

Did the Denny trial diminish racial tension? We believe it accomplished very little here, although the jury itself was a mix of Hispanics, blacks, Asians, and whites. The work of enhancing racial harmony will have to come primarily from outside the judicial system, but not without it. (At the same time that the Denny jury was deliberating, the leader of a white supremacist group in Los Angeles pleaded guilty to arson and weapons charges in an attempt to start a race riot by fire bombing a black church.) And yet if citizens believe there is a bias in the judicial system, as blacks in Los Angeles certainly do, law enforcement will have to develop *and demonstrate* a scrupulous single standard in applying the law. In this it will find no greater support than from the black community, that segment of the population most victimized by crime.

Finally, there is the important question of whether extenuating circumstances diminish personal responsibility for acts to such an extent that application of the law itself becomes futile. Does giving way to mob spirit, for example, free one from culpability

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for directing a brick at someone's head? Or does being abused as a child permit one to murder one's abusive parent? The answer is and must remain no. Circumstances certainly should be weighed in determining guilt and then in calibrating punishment and compensation. But some laws demand adherence in all circumstances precisely because they forbid acts which put civility and civilization at risk. As Susan Estrich pointed out following the Denny verdict, "The law demands self-control, and this demand is most important precisely when the temptations are greatest" (*New York Times*, October 24).

There were many heroes in the L.A. riots, men and women who not only obeyed the laws in a dangerously demoralized time but acted courageously to protect the dignity and the rights of victims who wandered into harm's way. It is on such individuals that the well-being of a society and a culture rests. Laws without the strength of such citizens' lives and character will prove ineffective in a time of trial. As Vaclav Havel writes (*Summer Meditations*, Vintage), there is only one way to strive for decency, reason, responsibility, and civility, and that is decently, reasonably, sincerely, civilly, and tolerantly. The lesson from Los Angeles is: we have a long way to go.

REPORT FROM CANADA

THE TORIES SAY GOODBY

CHARISMA NEEDS SUBSTANCE

Prime Minister Kim Campbell's attempt to rescue the Tories from the unpopularity of the Mulroney years failed abysmally in the October 25 general election. Angry voters savaged her Progressive Conservative party, from Newfoundland to Vancouver. In the Atlantic province of New Brunswick, only Elsie Wayne, the popular former mayor of Saint John, was elected as a Tory. And in Quebec, where former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's party had won sixty seats in 1988, the Tories retained only one seat, that won by Jean Charest. This time out, the avowedly separatist *Bloc Québécois*, led by former Mulroney cabinet minister Lucien Bouchard, took fifty-four seats, giving the *Bloc* the status of the official opposition.

In Ontario, the Reform party—an extreme-right, populist party led by Preston Manning of Alberta—divided the already weakened conservative vote to give the Liberals an unprecedented sweep in Canada's most populous province: ninety-eight out of ninety-nine seats. The remaining seat went to the Reform party, while the mildly left New Democratic party (NDP) lost all ten of its seats and the Tories lost forty-two.

In the prairie provinces, the Liberals continued their sweep, gaining eight seats in Manitoba and five in Saskatchewan. In Alberta, however, the Liberals got only four seats. Here, the Reform party rolled up a total of twenty-two seats and added twenty-four more in British Columbia (compared to the Liberals' six). The Tories lost eleven seats in British Columbia, including Kim Campbell's, and the NDP retained only two of its previous seventeen seats. In the Yukon, NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin held her seat but the rest of the North went Liberal.

The defeat of the Tories and the NDP was so total that neither got the twelve seats needed to qualify for official party status in the House of Commons. As a result, they will not be granted research budgets, nor will they be allowed to ask questions in committees without the agreement of other members. While the NDP has been there before, this is without precedent for the Progressive Conservative party.

What does it all mean? For starters, the ersatz character of the Tory campaign convinced nobody. It had been hoped that Kim Campbell, projecting an image of youth (she is forty-six) and new beginnings, could overcome the bitterness many felt toward Brian Mulroney and the Tories. Not only were the Tories blamed for the recession (not entirely a bum rap), but they have never been forgiven for the GST (Goods and Services Tax, a national sales tax). Campbell was haunted by a statement she had made while campaigning for leadership of British Columbia's Social Credit party: "Charisma without substance is dangerous." In this campaign she demonstrated that a failed attempt at charisma without substance is ludicrous. She also attempted the impossible: to turn her back on Mulroney without repudiating a single one of the policies and practices that had made him the most disliked prime minister in recent history. This was made worse by a number of gaffes during the campaign, the most serious being a statement to the effect that a campaign is no place to debate serious issues.

The Liberals hardly needed to campaign. They cautiously went through the motions. Jean Chrétien, the new Liberal prime minister, is an old hand, although at fifty-nine he is hardly over the hill. The Tories tried and failed to depict him as "yesterday's man." He promised jobs, as Mulroney had in 1984, and the preservation of Canada's health-care programs. Tory advertisements ridiculed Chrétien's proposals for job creation even as Campbell stated that nothing could be done to lower unemployment before the end of the century. For the rest of it, the Liberals relied mainly on the popular perception of what they represent and the widespread desire of an overwhelming majority to get rid of the Tories.

Unlike the Tories, the Liberals are a party that retains belief in governance. They are not dogmatically opposed to government intervention in the economy. They are pledged to renegotiate the trade agreement with the United States (FTA), particularly since the proposed NAFTA agreement gives Mexico some leverage over resources that Canada does not have in the FTA. Finally, the desire for stability of a majority government in a race that fielded five major parties was also a factor.

While the Liberals have a solid majority, 177 of 295 seats, the opposition is such as to make the next Parliament a bizarre affair. The Reform party had pledged to eliminate the deficit in three years without raising taxes. This is the measure of the unreality of their economic utopia. And while there was never any danger of their forming a government, they came within two seats of forming the official opposition. That space is now oc-

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cupied by the nationalist *Bloc Québécois*, whose position is somewhat enigmatic. The *Bloc* may be something more than a protest vote, and it rankles some English Canadians that a separatist party should form the official opposition. For Lucien Bouchard himself, the position is something of a mixed blessing. His own power is mostly symbolic, and given the realities of power, the move from the symbolic to the real will pose difficulties.

Geography and the absurdities of Canada's "winner-take-all" electoral system are much in evidence. The Tories got 17 percent of the popular vote but only two seats. The NDP, with 7 percent of the vote, got nine. And the Reform party, with 20 percent, got fifty-two seats. (By comparison, in the most recent Parliament the NDP had 20 percent of the vote but only forty-three seats.) While the Liberals are fairly thin on the ground in the West, they can, with justice, claim to be the only truly national party. The Reform party had high hopes of becoming more widespread geographically, but it has only one seat east of Manitoba. The fact that the Tories retain only two seats in all of Canada may be Mulroney's last testament to the party he took over in 1984.

Since Canada does not have a system of proportional representation, pre-election fears of an Italian-style Parliament with five strong parties have vanished. The country has the stability of a solid majority government. The Liberals' only constraints are the limits of the possible; their perceptions about what can be accomplished through government are somewhat more optimistic than either their predecessors' or the opposition in the new Parliament. There was, on October 25, a near-consensus to the effect that the country is a mess. In Canada, the transition to a new government takes about ten days and is accomplished rather quietly. As for what it really means, we shall know more in a year's time. JORDAN BISHOP

Jordan Bishop writes frequently for Commonweal *from Ottawa.*

REPORT FROM NEW YORK CITY

MAKE GOTHAM GOVERNABLE

CONSIDER CLEVELAND. OR PITTSBURGH

Underneath the promises, charges, countercharges, and overblown rhetoric of the New York's mayoral campaign, there was an unspoken but omnipresent question: Is New York City governable? Most of the electorate see New York as a city trapped within the structures and mistakes of its past, but there was hope that the election—regardless of who won—might provide the occasion for the creation of a new agenda. Now that Rudolph Giuliani has been elected, let me propose the following agenda: after almost an entire century spent creating New York as a "world city," the government, civic leaders, and citizens of New York should reverse their priorities and begin to focus on rebuilding New York as an "ordinary city."

New York-as-world-city has a long, interesting, and problematic history. As much as or more than any monarchical capital of Europe, New York was consciously envisaged as a global capital, as the command center of the American corporate economy, and also America's global contact point. To this end, three strategies were pursued: (1) the "deindustrialization" of Manhattan; (2) the destruction of Tammany; and (3) the liberal use of government funds and services to support the world-city agenda and pay its "social costs."

Of course these plans of New York's leading citizens had unforeseen consequences and many of the city's current ills result from them. According to the celebrated New York Regional Plan of 1929, the deindustrialization of Manhattan was supposed to be complemented by industrial zones in the outer boroughs, supported by comprehensive rail lines and working-class housing. But neither rail lines nor working-class housing materialized, and postwar highway construction and suburbanization confirmed the decentralization as well as "deindustrialization," not only of Manhattan but of the entire city.

Reform or "fusion" liberalism was supposed to replace the Tammany political machine with an honest, efficient, and progressive politics that would build the infrastructure of the world city (bridges, tunnels, mass transit, parks, cultural centers) and, at the same time, provide an expansive array of services to support and sustain the New York workforce (schools, city universities, hospitals, housing, health care, welfare). But reform liberalism fragmented the Tammany machine without providing an alternative form of political authority. Corruption and bossism persisted, but without a canny and disciplined political party to direct and control fiscal policy, the size of the bureaucracy, the proliferation of interest groups, and the orderly access of new immigrant groups to positions of political and bureaucratic power. The consequences are recurrent fiscal crises, bloated bureaucracies, "balkanization," and ethnic conflict. The habit of looking to government to resolve all the social problems caused by the world city's perpetual project of urban renewal resulted in a tradition of government overload that made New York dependent on federal aid and, when such aid was not forthcoming, the all-too-familiar situation of a city promising expansive services but delivering either fiscal crisis or the daily breakdown of basic services: garbage collection, pothole repair, and safe streets.

Reversing priorities, rebuilding New York by focusing on its identity as an ordinary city, will not be easy. Secession, now being pursued by Staten Island, is a temptation but not a solution, because the dismemberment of New York will not adjudicate the peaceful coexistence of two distinct but nonetheless interdependent urban cultures—the world city of Manhattan and the ordinary city to be found in Queens, the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Staten Island (Richmond). The five boroughs represent a geographical embodiment of the thesis of Mickey Kaus's recent book, *The End of Equality*, which argues that the new global economy will no longer produce a society in which "a rising tide lifts all boats," but rather one in which economic growth and prosperity for some may coincide with,

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indeed produce, economic decline, inequality, and poverty for others. Manhattan (below 125th Street, plus a few "gentrified" sections of Brooklyn and Queens) provides an arena for the successful and highly-paid managers and professionals who steer and structure the global economy. Otherwise, the four outer boroughs are for the ordinary people whose incomes are declining, whose jobs have been exported abroad, who live in deteriorating neighborhoods replete with crime, inadequate schools, and rotting infrastructure, and who survive by dint of menial service to the Manhattanites, "mom and pop" stores and small businesses, city employment, welfare, or the underground economy of sweatshops and drugs.

How can this picture be changed? One way to begin is to forget about Manhattan and see New York as a slightly larger version of ordinary cities like Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. These are large, older northeastern or midwestern cities that know the worst effects of deindustrialization, that have ghettoes, deteriorated neighborhoods, and their share of crime, drugs, poverty, unemployment, and homelessness. But because these cities understand themselves as ordinary places for ordinary people, they have focused on indigenous economic development and on communal and civic reconstruction. As a result, they are cities on the mend. In most cases they have overcome both political fragmentation and government overload by replacing their old governmental bureaucracies with an innovative and effective form of governance: coalitions (composed of business, government, non-profits, universities, neighborhood and minority associations, and religious groups) that develop a cooperative agenda to improve the city and that assume many of the city government's traditional functions (economic development, long-term planning, educational reform, even care of the homeless), and that also operate like political parties of yore (providing the point of access for new groups and a public realm for discourse, debate, and negotiation concerning matters of the common good).

Can New York emulate Pittsburgh and Cleveland? Perhaps it is too big, complex, and politically fragmented to achieve the civic cohesion of these "ordinary" cities. But suppose the problem isn't size but the lack of common interest between the world city of Manhattan and the outer boroughs? A reversal of priorities may work provided it is accompanied by strategies like the following that will not merely refocus attention on ordinary people and places but also redistribute power to them.

1. Leave Manhattan to its own devices. This doesn't mean seceding from Manhattan, so much as letting it fend for itself—that is, rely on its own strong market, find its own "competitive" level among similar world cities (London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt), and see to its own economic development. At a point when David Dinkins was taking flak for traveling abroad to find global investment for Manhattan, David Rockefeller wrote a letter defending him in the *New York Times*. But the truth is that the mayor of New York needn't concern himself about whether Singapore beats out Manhattan as the city with the most multinational corporate headquarters. The "competitive" fate of the world city does not depend upon nor is it the primary responsibility of New York's city government. Manhattan's skyscrapers will be built even without tax incentives for their developers, and global corporations will continue to locate in Manhattan because of its transnational banks, brokers, and legal services. Finally, the fortunes of Manhattan will doubtless rise or fall with the *imperium* to which it is wedded: if America retains its global hegemony in the twenty-first century, Manhattan will be at the forefront of global capitalism; if America falls behind, so will Manhattan.

2. Encourage and rely upon the immigrant sources of New York's creativity. Greater New York has always been a cosmopolitan city whose strength and vitality derived from the continual infusions of immigrants endowed with energy, ambition, wit, and tenacity. In the twenty-first century, New York's cosmopolitanism may serve it better than its current monopoly on financial services. Rather than fearing the economic, social, or cultural effects of the new immigration, the citizens and government of New York ought to do everything in their power to encourage immigrant enterprise and integration. The city's future promise is still to be found in its ethnic neighborhoods, some of which are now reviving thanks to the arrival of Koreans in Queens; Russians in Brighton Beach; and Haitians, Dominicans, and Cubans in upper Manhattan and the Bronx. Experts on immigration generally agree that newcomers create jobs rather than steal them; enhance our culture rather than diminish it; and, after one or two generations, meld happily if not seamlessly into the mainstream of American society.

3. Concentrate on indigenous economic development. Let the mayor of New York stay at home and cultivate the indigenous industries—small and midsize today but capable of growth—that are starved for capital and that could sorely use the billions in city, state, and federal dollars that agencies such as the Urban Development Corporation or the Public Development Corporation poured into sometimes unsuccessful projects in Manhattan. Pittsburgh and Cleveland have all kinds of innovative financing strategies to assist local industries that create jobs and train unskilled workers. New York has similar programs, but these are a drop in the bucket compared to the city tax incentives that fattened the "deals" of Manhattan developers in the 1980s.

4. Build leadership by politicizing community-based organizations. Relying on an organization of Manhattan-based global CEOs like the New York Partnership to reconstruct New York is like expecting Rebuild LA to reconstruct South Central Los Angeles. Global elites don't have the time nor the understanding to deal with the needs and problems of ordinary folk. But the coalition of white liberals and minorities that elected David Dinkins in 1989 had reason to expect a community-based political strategy from his administration. In New York, community-based organizations such as the Nehemiah project in Brooklyn and the venerable Community Service Society are graced with innovative economic and social agendas, well-qualified professional direction, and progressive constituencies. They could be a political force and the basis of new leadership united for common social production, if allowed an independence comparable to the city's public-sector unions. But the Catch-22 situation, from which the mayor must liberate himself, is

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this: beset by so many interest groups and lacking an effective political machine, New York's mayors cling to any shred of autonomy. Instead of moving, then, to empower the community-based organizations as countervailing political forces, mayors use government funding to rein them in.

Though these strategies, rooted in new priorities, will not change New York overnight, they may have immediate and beneficial side effects. The new agenda will likely lessen ethnic and racial conflict, as the principal cause of these ugly symptoms—a government inattentive to the needs and common interests of ordinary New Yorkers—gives way to an urban regime *of, for,* and *by* ordinary New Yorkers. As in almost all recent New York elections, the undercurrent of race was strong in 1993, and both candidates, explicitly or implicitly, played this card to appeal to core constituencies. The test for Rudolph Giuliani in the coming four years will rest with his ability to unite rather than divide ordinary people with a new agenda geared not to the world city that was, but to the ordinary—and democratic—city that will be.

WALLACE KATZ

Wallace Katz is president of Community Business Consultants, a Washington consulting firm specializing in political research and economic development.

WORLD WATCH

J. Bryan Hehir

CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY

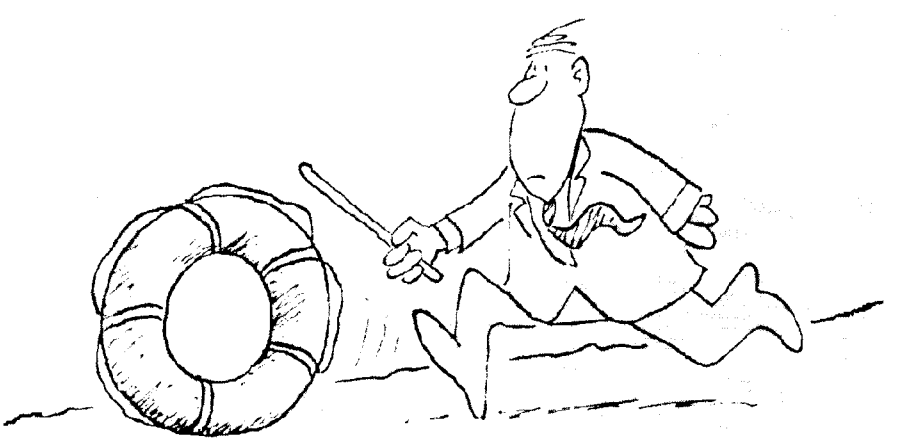
RIGHT DESTINATIONS, WRONG MAPS

President Bill Clinton's most visible foreign policy problems—Bosnia, Haiti, and Somalia—are not the country's most important foreign-policy challenges. The irony of the Clinton administration's foreign-policy deficit—and it is real in the eyes of many whom a Democratic president needs for support—is that on the traditionally decisive issues of foreign policy, the relationship with Russia, the Middle East, and nonproliferation, the Clinton team has set forth and sustained a coherent, effective policy.

The decisions confronting the United States on Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti have enormous human significance, but limited geopolitical consequences. The truth of this proposition is, however, not very useful to Clinton at the present time. The danger he faces is that his foreign policy instincts are being judged by the secondary cases (Bosnia, et al.) and found wanting. The critique extends beyond his policies to the national security team upon which he depends. In my view, the talent of the team is quite good, but this view is probably a minority position in the foreign-policy fraternity. The challenge which the president and his advisers face is not only framing a policy adequate for the secondary issues, but communicating more clearly and decisively why these issues should engage U.S. talent and treasure, and why they are so resistant to rapid resolution.

The administration's basic position has been to stress that "the world has changed" and the old models for developing and explaining foreign policy do not fit any longer. In a series of September addresses (President Clinton at the United Nations, Secretary of State Christopher at Columbia University, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake at the Johns Hopkins School of International Studies), the administration sought to specify its view of what has changed and how U.S. policy should respond to it. This most expansive attempt to explain the administration's view of the world was quickly overtaken by events. Rather than being asked in October to debate and defend his broad vision of world order, Clinton spent the month defending his specific choices in Somalia and Haiti. In neither case were the administration's policy, vision, or tactical choices adequate. The danger now is that these cases threaten to stamp the entire Clinton policy as a failure before it is given a fair hearing.

In fact, running through all three of the hard cases (Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti) are basic themes which do have to be adjusted to new realities. The Clinton policy shows sound instincts on these themes, but does not have an articulated view of them. The three themes are multilateralism, intervention, and human rights. Each has been a staple of the foreign-policy debate for decades, but each must be reinterpreted in



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light of the political and strategic changes of the 1990s.

Multilateralism: The idea is as old as the United Nations system (and indeed is grounded in the Wilsonian vision of the League of Nations), but the cold war effectively smothered any serious strategy of multilateralism. The post-cold war world presents both problems which demand a multilateral response and geopolitical conditions which make such a strategy possible. The Gulf War was sold under a multilateral banner but it has little relevance to most of the problems demanding a multilateral response in the 1990s. The Gulf War was a response to a classical case of aggression (the kind the UN system is designed to meet). Both the political coordination and the strategic control of the war effort were solidly unilateral, in U.S. hands, with the support of key allies from Europe and the Arab states.

The challenges of the 1990s, as Lake noted in his September address, are conflicts *within* countries or conflicts designed to create new sovereign entities. The category of aggression is virtually useless in Somalia and Haiti, and of marginal value in the Bosnian conflict. Moreover, a model of multilateralism with the United States as the choreographer, conductor, and a majority of the orchestra cannot be sustained either by the UN system or by U.S. domestic opinion. But it is not sufficient to criticize the Gulf War model as inapplicable. The deeper question about multilateralism is rooted in the fact that objective conditions of international politics today (not simply "ideals" about international relations) make it necessary to develop institutional responses which go beyond the capacity of individual states. This truth is recognized in the arena of political economy, but less developed in the peacemaking/peacekeeping capacities of the United Nations. The world today lives in the open space where state capacities are not sufficient and international institutions do not yet complement the activities of the states.

Bridging this gap between states and other institutions requires U.S. involvement, and the Clinton policy is committed to such engagement. The Gulf War model is too much U.S. involvement, but it is also clear from Bosnia and Somalia that the strategic and tactical capabilities of UN-led forces are not equal to the immediate task of peacemaking, though their record in peacekeeping is more satisfactory. The secretary general's idea of a UN force drawn from many nations and available for rapid deployment is a useful goal, but not a present reality. The Somalia experience will make it difficult in the immediate future to deploy U.S. troops in anything other than a U.S. command structure. That is not an adequate long-term institutional strategy, but support for a UN force will have to be built incrementally in U.S. public opinion.

Intervention: During the cold war the rationale for intervention was always a perceived "security threat" to U.S. vital interests. Often the threat was less than vital, sometimes less than real. In addition, several interventions failed to pass the higher standard of being morally justifiable. But the category provided a way to define the purpose of intervention, and it provides a rough method of justifying to the public the sacrifice of American lives. The 1990s' debate about intervention often does not have a security rationale; clearly, Somalia cannot be cast in such terms, and Haiti would meet such a standard only tenuously. The proposals for intervention today, emerging from the United Nations or from individual states calling for intervention, are cast in terms of protecting human rights or adjudicating political-ethnic conflicts. A case can be made for such intervention, but neither the rationale for policy nor the explanations given to spouses and families of military personnel killed in such actions can be convincingly presented as defending national security. This kind of intervention requires a justification in terms of what John XXIII called "the international common good." This case has not yet been broached with the U.S. public by the Clinton administration or others.

Human Rights: Human rights have been on the international agenda since the founding of the United Nations. They did not become a serious topic of U.S. policy discourse until the 1970s. Even then the measures to protect and promote human rights were limited to conditions placed on military and economic assistance or to international censure or blockade. The post-cold war policy proposals reach all the way from these measures to the use of force to protect human rights. This put human rights on the agenda of "high politics," not simply a humanitarian measure, but a topic for political and strategic discourse. The stakes are higher, the expectations about human rights are more expansive, and the willingness of the U.S. to expend significant resources in pursuit of rights is more demanding of us.

The world has changed; the Clinton team has properly defined the new horizon for policy. But it has yet to provide a road map for the U.S. public which generates confidence and support in moving toward the horizon. They deserve more time, but the need for a clearer rationale is urgent. □

OF SEVERAL MINDS Sidney Callahan

VIRTUE BY THE NUMBERS

8+9+7+7+14=A CHRISTIAN

Advent again. A time when each and every Christian can be pregnant with a new life in the womb of the Spirit. But are inner quickenings going to result in a live birth? Will there emerge a new and transformed personality that can be recognized as characteristically and distinctly Christian?

All right, I admit that as a psychologist I'm obsessed with personal conversions, but this time I've been egged on by reading John Paul's *Veritatis splendor*. In

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chapter 1 the pope describes the Beatitudes as "attitudes and dispositions in life" that "are a sort of self-portrait of Christ." What an original idea, a spark of bright shining truth for sure.

Inspired by this, I quickly turned to the Beatitudes and read them in a new light. Yes—here is a portrait of a person hungering and thirsting for righteousness, mourning, peacemaking, being merciful, humble, pure of heart, meek, suffering persecution and false accusations; yet all the while receiving comfort and joy in seeing God, being filled with righteousness, expecting to inherit the earth and the Kingdom. This is a winning personality (in all senses of the word) who refuses to dim or hide its light and who will not lose the savor of saltiness.

Heretofore, in my own reflections on Christian personhood, I had focused on the harvest of the Spirit as enumerated by Saint Paul. I keep a calligraphy copy of Galatians 5:22-23 pinned over my desk, next to my "Wordperfect Tips, Tricks, and Traps Keyboard Command Map," both at the ready for frequent consultation in a crisis. Inept as I may be on the computer, it's certainly easier to "Format" and "Control" a text than it is to form a personality marked by "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control." If you are surprised by the nonagonal list of the fruits of the Spirit, it may be that you have confused the nine-sided harvest with the seven gifts of the Spirit, namely, wisdom, understanding, knowledge, piety, fortitude, counsel, and fear of the Lord. The gifts produce the fruits, but they also help a Christian to actively achieve the seven virtues: faith, hope, charity, courage, justice, prudence, and temperance. Then you simply round out the Christian personality with the habitual performance of the fourteen spiritual and corporal works of mercy. You remember, admonishing the sinner, forgiving all injuries, feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, and so on. Yes friends, I'm afraid *all of the above* are going to be on the final exit exam.

While we're reviewing this optimal curriculum vitae, is there anything else we should prescribe as distinctively characteristic of a Christian personality? Perhaps

"No this isn't *some kind of contest!"*

a highly developed sense of wit and irony should be added, like the sharp byplay we see Jesus demonstrating in certain gospel stories. God's affinity for merriment and play can already be accounted for as part of joy, and we know Christian love encompasses everything from the fiercest of erotic passions to the most tender of affections. Notice also how misguided the Stoics were in their personality ideal of *apatheia*; deep and strong emotions suffuse these lineaments of the Christlike personality.

What we don't see countenanced in any Christian personality profile are the vile aspects of human nature, all too familiar to us all. These come in petty and mean versions due to weakness as well as in dramatic large gestures by those who proclaim with Milton's Lucifer, "Evil, be thou my good." (Now there's a fundamental option for you.) Wicked persons, following the proud father of lies, easily end up enslaved by their own coldness, callousness, cruelty, hate, envy, avarice, and hypocrisy. Selfish isolation, gnawing despair, and inertia turn hearts to stone in the land of gloom. No one wants to be around the wicked, not only because they are dangerous, but also because they become so deadly boring.

Christ, on the other hand, is the Great Attractor, to borrow a term from the new cosmology. As the pope reminds us, Christ speaks to our hearts because he is "the image of the invisible God," "the reflection of God's glory," "full of grace and truth." The good news is that living a good moral life makes you free and deeply happy—even if you have to suffer and struggle on, groaning your way toward Christian maturity. If God became human, so humans could share in God's life, then Christians must come more and more to resemble Christ, increasing the family resemblance with every season that passes.

But hold on a minute. What about the idea that everyone should be becoming more distinct and different from everyone else? If the church means "here comes everybody," shouldn't we see blossoming the most complete variety and range of diverse personality types, temperaments, and lifestyles possible? Let a thousand flowers bloom in a riotous garden of human possibilities.

No, this path which sounds so promising fades out quickly, basically because as human beings all of us blooming in this garden grew from one specific sowing and there is a genetic limitation to the variation we can produce. The human species exists as a unit within a bounded range. We reproduce and multiply but we don't undergo speciation. This home-truth of the common human condition was made vivid for me when I learned that the scholastics had determined that angels, unlike embodied, reproducing humanity, would each and every one be a separate species.

Somehow, interest in angels seems to be staging a comeback in religious circles, but angelic psychology is not on my Advent agenda. Who cares what Gabriel thought (or felt?) when he/she/it(?) delivered the opening lines in our present drama? Mary's response, and our response, is the human interest story here.

Can I risk her terrifying answer, "Here am I, the servant of the Lord; let it be with me according to your word"? Bearing more fruit requires accepting more gifts. Our invitation to the endgame is at hand. Your move. □

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LOVE YOUR ENEMY

BUT DON'T EXPECT A PROFIT

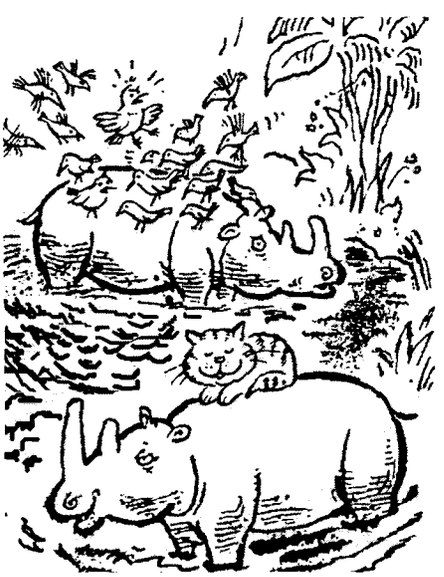
The most radical injunction in Christianity is that we must love our enemies, do good to those who hate us, pray for those who persecute us. We are caught in a world in which this does not really look like sensible advice, because there is no future in it, no immediate indication that this will get us anything but grief.

At the same time, the hatred of enemies, the cherishing of ancient grievances, also leads to grief, as the headlines show us every day. Hatred satisfies something in us, however, that is not satisfied by loving the persecutor. To seek *satisfaction* in the role of the victim, the one who does good to those who hate, is rightly seen as a disgusting thing: I will enjoy the role of the innocent victim, cherish the image of myself as the suffering servant. Better a healthy hatred than what seems to be a form of pious masochism: "Hit me again, it's good for me, and I get to forgive you." There is nothing biblical about simply stepping into the victim's role and leaving it at that, as if this were the end of the story: "Jesus was crucified, and that was wrong, proof of a terrible world in which the innocent suffer." That isn't the end of the point of the Christian story.

In the Old Testament the fact that the test of one's real standing before the Lord was kindness to widows and orphans and strangers was not based on the virtue of those who were most helpless—they are likely to be as evil as we are—rather on the fact that they are able to do nothing for us. Lazarus the poor man, in Luke's Gospel, did not find himself in Abraham's bosom after death because he was good but because he was poor, and because of that he should have been helped by the rich man, who—because of his inattention—is in torment. The point here is the relationship itself, not the private virtues practiced (or not practiced) by either party. If I do something nice for a prominent politician or a wealthy man or an influential judge, I can almost certainly count on having the favor repaid. I can count on not having it repaid if I do it for someone poor and helpless.

The injunction to love the enemy is very much in keeping with Jesus' extension of the meaning of the law. Not only are we not to commit adultery; we are not to lust. Not only are we to refrain from killing; we are to refrain from anger. We are not only meant to be generous to the widow and orphan and stranger; we must love our enemies, partly because they can and will do nothing for us, like the widow and orphan and stranger.

This makes no sense, from the point of view of our advantage. We are told to act this way—to be generous to those who can't possibly help us, to love people who seek to harm us—because we are called to "be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect"; that is, we are meant to become to one another and to God what God is to us. We do not love the enemy because if we do so the enemy may be changed or converted, although he or she may be (or may not); we are called to love the enemy because we are made in God's image, meant to be like God, and by loving the enemy we stand in relation to the enemy the way God stands in relation to us. God will love us, does love us, or we would not exist. This is true despite everything we may have done to contradict or deny the relationship. Nothing we can do will change it. To love the enemy brings us into the relationship God has with us, because it refuses to say that anything other than love will be the basis of our relationship.



"Another bloody cat lover!"

It looks good on paper. How do you do it? And isn't there a danger that "love" here can become a kind of sentimental and at the same time bloodless indifference, a willingness to suffer any outrage to oneself or (worse) to others, in the name of something which only appears to be more noble than a passionate, and maybe violent, refusal of injustice?

There is this danger, of course; any real attempt to love involves danger, and putting something at risk. But this love is not passive, not mere acceptance. It means trying to understand the enemy as one beloved. This is not to excuse the enemy, any more than we should excuse a child of ours who has made a disastrous choice. But it does mean an effort at active, genuine love. And this has practical consequences which show us how far we fall short. It means that we may not regard the bigots and murderers and warlords and bloody-handed politicians with the scorn and rage that, at one level they seem to so richly deserve. They exist, as we do, only because of the love God has for them.

When Jesus calls upon us to "be perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect," he calls upon us to be realistic. This is the shock: we can see the enemy clearly only when we see the enemy with love; then we "know, as now we are known." It is an appalling thought to consider this: I love truly only insofar as I love the person who annoys or infuriates me most. Any other form of love falls short of the love God calls us to. The other forms of love are the unrealistic and sentimental ones. And if the struggle to love as God loves involves great ascetic effort, prayer, and repentance, it simply shows how far we are, in our ordinary waking consciousness, from genuine clarity. □

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THE END OF ZIONISM

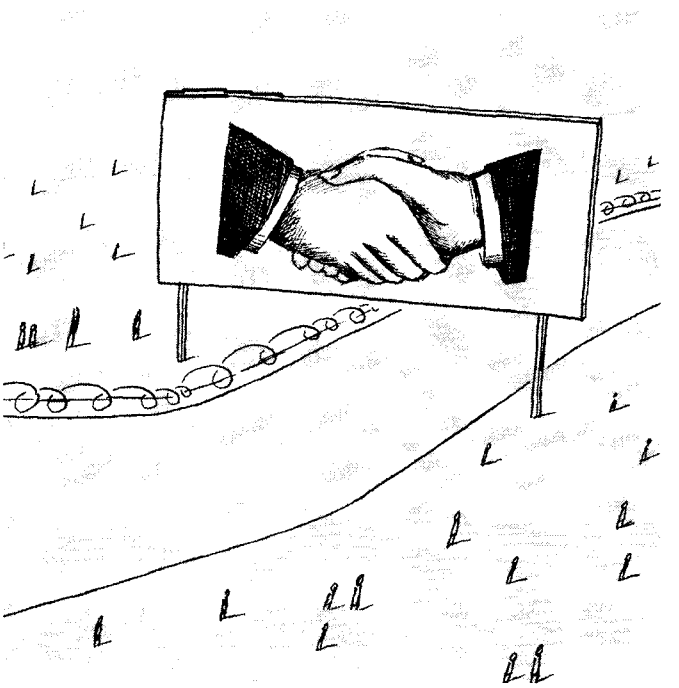
THE RENEWAL OF DIASPORA JUDAISM

NORMAN F. CANTOR

The Rabin-Arafat accord has been greeted by the Diaspora Jewish populations in the United States, Canada, and England with a notable restraint. Contrary to the huzzahs in the media and the gloating of the White House officials, and with the exception of the ideological peaceniks on the Jewish Left, there has been only a moderate acclaim of approval for the inauguration of an Israeli-Palestinian peace settlement. The applause from the great majority of Diaspora Jews has been formal, politically correct, but very cautious and scarcely heartfelt, I think. *Commentary*, the leading organ of U.S. Jewish opinion, and under Norman Podhoretz's editorship for long vehemently Zionist, has had a very hard time expressing enthusiasm for the Rabin-Arafat agreement. The other prime journal of opinion circulating among American Jews, the international edition of the *Jerusalem Post*, has communicated clearly the actual hostility of most of its editorial staff to the agreement, something it would not have dared to do if it had felt that the majority of its readers strongly supported the accord. The ultimate reason for this moderate response, I would argue, has been the still only partly conscious perception that the Rabin-Arafat accord represents the end of Zionism.

The security and triumph of Israel has been regarded, at least since 1948, as the integrating element in the public culture of Diaspora Jews, the single most important ingredient by far in the affirmation of a Jewish consciousness. Since the 1950s a Jew in America, Canada, and England was someone committed to political Zionism, which meant an independent Jewish state in perpetual victorious conflict with its Arab neighbors, and, at least since 1967, the subordination of Arabs within Greater Israel or their exclusion entirely. It was as simple as that: If your heart was warmed and your brain positively stimulated by this prospect, you had an identity as a Jew, whether you lived in New York, Toronto, or London.

It was easy enough to say—and Israelis always said it—that the Diaspora Jews provided only moral and fiscal support while the Israelis personally endured repeated wars against the Arabs and frequent danger from terrorist attacks, that the Diaspora Jews were vicariously engaging in an exploitative projection onto Israeli heroism and blood-letting. This view had substance, although it undervalued the fiscal and political support of Israel from American Jewry which made Israel's survival possible. Its validity does not detract from the reality that Jewish self-identity in the past forty-five years of the Diaspora has depended, in my opinion, much more on political Zionism than on religion. Identification with embattled Israel and pride in its triumphs has been the hallmark of Diaspora Judaism, now set on a course of reversal by the prospect of peace with the hitherto intransigent Arab states and especially by accommodation with the hated Palestinians. The political and military triumphs of Israel were the counterbalance in the mind of Diaspora Jewry to the impotence that the Holocaust signified. They were the energized and integrating force in the shaping of a universal Jewish identity. Now that will be attenuated, perhaps in a short



NORMAN F. CANTOR's *history of the Jews, titled* The Sacred Chain, *will be published in 1994 by HarperCollins.*

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David Applebaum

Returning to the Nest

The young copperhead
is all alone.
It is a river running
back to its nest,
a brown headband
that knows the inside
of everything.
With gasoline, the men
blow it to high heaven.

I am alone,
the world runs through me,
charred pit for a mouth.
My words keep secrets
from running home.

All lives I have lived
live still,
in a nest of ribbons.
They lie over each other,
sisters & brothers
of one house,
quarrelsome & loving.
They weave
no finished plait.

In one life,
there is a boy
left out in a game of hiding.
They must find the nest
& join it,
not telling the secret.
The sun is cold
& reptilian
running home to the stars.
Once there were many boys.
Now he is last.
Running alone.

The last life
runs home through me
with its secret powers.
It skitters frantic
to escape
the final conflagration.
Its love is feared.
I say prayers
for the youngest.
I do not say where
the nest is
or who will find him there.

time fully superseded.

I suspect that the accustomed clear vision of the Jewish identity is in course of deconstruction and steady erosion as a result of the Rabin-Arafat accord, and I doubt if the Israelis have thought for a minute about what the reversal of the course of Zionism of the past half century *would do for Jewish identity in the Diaspora*—how devastating this revolutionary change in policy could be for millions of Diaspora Jews, especially in English-speaking countries, whose public culture, in so far as it had a Jewish ingredient, was predicated on the maintenance of the course of political Zionism.

The Rabin government was pressed to reach a settlement with the Arabs so that Israeli security would be immeasurably enhanced, thus enabling Israel to turn to its festering economic problems. Israel's highly skilled Jewish work force is currently much underutilized, and 300,000 recent Russian immigrants in addition to at least half-a-million highly educated native Israelis are underemployed. Peace with the Palestinians and Arabs would remove, it was believed, the greatest impediment to the inflow of investment that would develop Israel's high-tech economy and maximally use its workforce. Israel will also have to go further toward deregulating its demand economy and reducing the obstacles to development represented by its dinosaur labor unions. But the prospect that external investment for high-tech development will follow an Arab and Palestinian peace is a good one, and in view of the profound discontent of well-educated Russian immigrants, a necessary one. Israel can possibly become the Singapore, perhaps the Japan, of the Middle East, absorbing Palestinian and other Arab workers into a dynamic engine of industrial and commercial growth. Twenty years from now the Arab-Israeli wars could seem as remote and strange as the Roman-Jewish conflicts.

Diaspora Jews can only wish Rabin-led Israel well in this pursuit, but they may feel an aching emptiness right now. With the prospect of the dissolution of the political Zionism Diaspora Jews have known for so many decades, I suspect there is a huge gap emerging in their cultural—and religious—lives, for Zionism has been the kernel of their spiritual consciousness in so far as it had a Jewish character.

When the numbness slowly wears off, three consequences will follow, especially among bicoastal American Jewry, joined by groups in Toronto and London. First, as the era of political Zionism lapses, there will be a reversion to the cultural Zionism advocated in the second and third decades of this century by Asher Ginsberg (Ahad Ha'am) and Judah Magnes. There will be much-enhanced investment from English-speaking Jewry in the currently impoverished and somnolent Israeli universities and research institutes, and a flurry of personnel exchanges between the Israeli centers of learning and science and American universities, facilitated by Jewish philanthropy.

The second outcome of the waning of political Zionism

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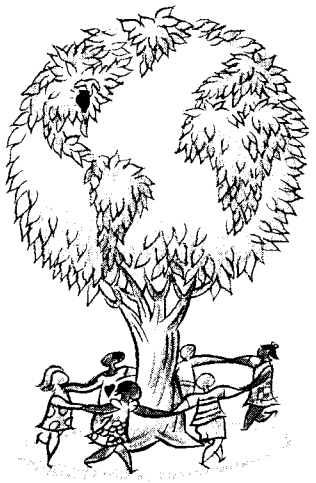
will have much greater consequences, but one not likely to please the Israelis. Political Zionism having been eroded as the center of Jewish identity, there will be a shift to exploring reinvigorated religious identity. This will mean gains for various shades of Orthodox and Hasidic Judaism, but more important it will refocus the search for a liberal, reform, reconstructed Judaism of dynamic quality and broad appeal that was pursued in the first forty years of this century but which, I would argue, largely lapsed because of the shift of attention to political Zionism in the 1940s and '50s. The long-range (over the next three decades) outcome of the Rabin-Arafat accord will be a Jewish religious renaissance in the Diaspora.

The regaining of the momentum in the shaping of reform and reconstructionist Judaism, broken off around 1950 with the concentration of resources and thought upon political Zionism, will have little to do with the Israeli situation (where political expediency has meant the muzzling of liberal, modernized Judaism). With their new focus on the accoutrements of material prosperity midst high-tech development, the Israelis may well feel increasingly uncomfortable about the Jewish spiritual renaissance in America. For American Jewry this resumption of religious growth will furthermore present an opportunity to go back to the fifties and sixties and take a broader road of dialogue and cooperation with Christian churches. That road was blocked at the time, I think, by the unwise decision of the American Jewish Congress and other communal leadership organizations to insist on absolute separation of church and state, which contributed not only to expunging prayer and Bible-reading from the public schools but to the spurning of public aid for parochial education, with highly negative consequences for financing Jewish childhood education. Now such policy mistakes can be rectified and a new era of Jewish-Christian fellowship can be inaugurated. Twenty or thirty years from now, as a result of the demise of political Zionism, there will probably be greater interest among American Jews in intellectual and social interaction with Catholic and Protestant churches at home than in an Israel now become inextricably involved with a dynamic Muslim Arab culture while pursuing domestic prosperity. Israel, in other words, will become orientalized and Arabized as it becomes the dynamic economic center of the Eastern Mediterranean and it will become culturally alienated in large part from English-speaking Jewry.

Finally, the coming of peace with the Arabs will be a boon to Jewish educational and other cultural institutions in the Diaspora. In many American cities there is a Beth Israel or Mount Sinai hospital, representing the direction and capability of Jewish public charity before the overwhelming commitment to Israel in the late 1940s. On the other hand, there are only two Jewish-sponsored American universities, neither very affluent or distinguished. Now that Israel will soon need less urgent charitable support, Jewish gifts can flow to Yeshiva and Brandeis universities and found new centers of learning and research in America, to parallel the pre-Zionist era establishments in the medical field. Now suitable support can at last be directed to Jewish childhood education, which remains poorly funded and badly organized.

Healing the Past . . .
CREATING THE FUTURE



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Insofar as the Rabin-Arafat accord leads to a general peace and Israeli economic partnership with the Arabs, the Israelis will be surprised to discover a leveling down of Diaspora aid as American and other Diaspora Jews belatedly turn inward to develop their own public institutions. Their identity no longer driven by political Zionism, the Diaspora Jews will move to recreate a Jewish consciousness based now on religious and cultural thrusts from within their own communities.

That doesn't mean there won't be for a long time a nostalgia for the good old days of political Zionism and the heroic garrison state of greater Israel that gave a new meaning of reversing auto-emancipation and military strength to the hitherto gloomy archetype of Jewish history, with its two millennia of fear and impotence. Decades from now the half-century between the 1942 Baltimore conference when American Jews acceded to Ben-Gurion's extremist demand that creation of a Jewish state in Palestine take precedence over everything else in Jewish life (even the rescue of European Jewry from the Nazis), and the recent accord of September 1993, will stand out as a unique, discrete, and discontinuous era in Jewish history.

Neither Israeli nor Diaspora Jewry will ever be the same as a result of the handshake between Arafat and Rabin in the White House garden. 1993 will join 1095, 1492, 1648, 1917, 1933, and 1948 as a moment of critical alteration in the Jewish fate. □

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'Ex corde ecclesiae' and its ordinances

IS THIS ANY WAY TO RUN A UNIVERSITY? OR A CHURCH?

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No one who cares about the future of the U.S. Catholic church can ignore the question of the religious identity of America's Catholic colleges and universities. The questions will be greatly shaped in the years to come by the fate of a few hundred words of "ordinances on Catholic higher education."

The unparalleled system of Catholic higher education in the United States has educated more religiously literate lay Catholics than at any other time in the church's history. Not incidentally, these schools have produced an upwardly mobile Catholic population that has entered the mainstream of American life.

And therein lies the challenge. Having shed their immigrant defensiveness, adopted U.S. standards of academic freedom, and achieved academic excellence, many of these schools must articulate anew the nature of their mission as Catholic institutions. Many Catholic educators, beset by all the familiar problems of institutional survival, may have too-long neglected this difficult task. And if pressure from Rome, which began with a 1985 draft of a pontifical document on Catholic higher education and finally issued in John Paul II's 1990 *Ex corde ecclesiae*, has helped focus these educators' attention and steeled their wills for undertaking the challenge, so much the better.

At least in the United States, however, there is considerable question whether the remedies emerging from the Vatican and the episcopacy will support or undermine the efforts of local educators. In fact, the U.S. bishops may be on the brink of forcing a precipitous resolution.

We are in the closing rounds of a struggle that has run throughout the consultations prior to *Ex corde ecclesiae* (see *Commonweal*, January 27, 1989). Catholic educators from around the world warned the Vatican that a single document could not prescribe for dramatically different local conditions. In particular, a group of presidents from U.S. Catholic universities appear to have convinced Roman officials that direct intervention by local bishops or other church authorities into academic affairs was incompatible with academic freedom and with the educators' own best judgment on how to run these institutions. The result was that *Ex corde ecclesiae* restricted itself to declaring broad norms and delegated the regional bishops' conferences to sculpt more detailed "ordinances" regarding Catholic higher education. But that did not remove the issue, rooted in the Code of Canon Law, of requiring episcopal mandates for the theology faculty and oversight in other areas. Each new round of documents always brought the local bishop back onto the campus in some sort of canonical role.

In the United States, a committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (Cardinal James Hickey, Archbishops Oscar Lipscomb, Adam Maida, and Francis Schulte, and Bishops James Malone, James Griffin, and John Leibrecht, the chairman) has drafted the set of ordinances (see p. 15) that will govern the relations between local ordinaries and schools of higher education in their dioceses.

The drafting committee included eight Catholic college and university presidents as consultors. It is an omen for the future that the bishops voted unanimously in favor of the ordinances; the consultors opposed them (and in any case were not permitted to vote). The proposed ordinances are circulating among the U.S. episcopate as well as college and university presidents; comments and recommendations are to be returned by December 31, 1993. The bishops as a whole will vote on these ordinances (or revised versions) at their November 1994 meeting and the ordinances will be sent to Rome for approval.

THE EDITORS

Charles E. Curran

The "Proposed Ordinances for Catholic Colleges and Universities in the United States" represents the unanimous report of a bishops' committee which, after broad discussion, will be voted on at the November 1994 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

For over twenty-five years the Vatican, the U.S. bishops, and the leaders of Catholic higher education here have been in dialogue about the nature and structure of Catholic higher education in the U.S. Until now leaders of these Catholic institutions have insisted that academic freedom and institutional autonomy are essential aspects of any college or university, including Catholic institutions. During these twenty-five years the Vatican has always been somewhat suspect of and opposed to academic freedom, but the bishops have gone along with the new directions in Catholic higher education.

Now things have changed. These proposed ordinances, based on the apostolic constitution *Ex corde ecclesiae* (August 1990),

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require those who teach theology in Catholic colleges and universities to request a mandate from the bishop or competent ecclesiastical authority. The academic officials do not become directly involved in the process. The ordinances also propose a rather vague process for settling disputes on such matters and others in accord with church law and procedures.

These ordinances raise six significant questions which bear on the very existence and structure of Catholic higher education in the future.

Question 1: Do the ordinances violate the principles of academic freedom? Yes. Ecclesiastical authorities outside the academic institution make decisions which determine who is hired and who is dismissed from a college faculty. The 1967 Land O' Lakes Statement by leaders of Catholic higher education insisted "that the Catholic university must have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself."

Question 2: Will the bishops pass such ordinances? I hope not, but I fear they will. The committee unanimously recommended these in the face of the apparent unanimous opposition of the eight college and university presidents who served on the committee with them.

The times, they are a'changing. These ordinances must be seen in the light of many recent Vatican actions and documents calling for greater hierarchical control over theologians, including the requirements of the mandate and an oath of fidelity, together with the refusal to admit any public theological dissent from hierarchical teaching. In this context the bishops know that Rome is pressuring them, and they will probably go along with these ordinances.

Question 3: Will the United States bishops enforce such ordinances? No one knows for sure. No bishop in the continental U.S. during the last ten years has employed Canon 812 which already requires theology professors to have a mandate from the bishop. However, in the changed climate and in the light of existing national church legislation, individual bishops might very well take action. Some bishops and institutions might work out an acceptable approach utilizing the regular university hiring processes as the form of delegation for giving the mandate—a practice that would not seem to violate academic freedom. But other bishops might feel compelled to exercise their authority to protect the church from

(Continued on page 22)

Proposed Ordinances

The ordinances on Catholic higher education for the dioceses of the United States are complementary to and in harmony with canons 807-814 of the *Code of Canon Law* and the general norms of the Apostolic Constitution *Ex corde ecclesiae* (part 2), both of which in their entirety are part of the universal law of the church.

1. Catholic colleges and universities are those which, through their governing boards, freely commit themselves to the Christian message as it comes to us through the Catholic church, and together with the bishops, seek to preserve and foster their Catholic character and mission.
2. Catholic colleges and universities are to identify themselves as belonging to one of the descriptive categories on the list appended to these ordinances [the categories are: ecclesiastical faculties/universities; canonically established; established by a diocese; established by a religious community; and established by other ecclesiastical or lay initiatives] and include the appropriate identification in their governing documents or statements of mission.
3. Periodically, and at least every ten years, each Catholic college or university is to undertake an internal review of the congruence of its research program, course of instruction, and service activity with the ideals and principles expressed in *Ex corde ecclesiae*.
4. As a manifestation of their common desire to maintain the Catholic identity of the college/university, institutional authorities and the diocesan bishop, according to their own proper roles, will seek to promote the teaching of Catholic theological disciplines in communion with the church.
5. The mandate granted to those who teach theology in Catholic colleges and universities should be understood as recognition by the competent ecclesiastical authority of a Catholic professor's suitability to teach theological disciplines.
6. Catholic professors of theological disciplines are to be advised by academic officials of the church's expectation that they request the mandate from the competent ecclesiastical authority, normally the diocesan bishop or his delegate. Accordingly, the bishop is to invite the Catholic professor to request the mandate and, after appropriate review, the bishop is to respond to the request.
7. If a dispute arises between the competent ecclesiastical authority and a Catholic college or university, or individuals or groups within such institutions, it is to be resolved according to procedures that respect the rights of persons in the church, the autonomy of the academic institution, and the responsibility of church authorities to assist in the preservation of the institution's Catholic identity. Such procedures are also to follow the principles and, to the extent applicable, the procedures of the documents of the National Conference of Bishops *On Due Process* (1972) in administrative matters and *Doctrinal Responsibilities* (1989) in matters of differences in doctrine.
8. Governing boards, in appropriate collaboration with the administration of the college/university, should provide for an adequately staffed campus ministry program and suitable liturgical and sacramental opportunities under the moderation of the local bishop.

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THE HUMAN FAMILY...

LEARNING TO LIVE TOGETHER

Books for Children and Young Adults

The following recommended books for children and young adults were selected by a committee of experts in the field of literature for youth. These books were chosen because they portray people of different ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural backgrounds in a way that affirms and celebrates the full range of diversity found in America and the world. The titles included here were published during 1992 and 1993.

Against the Storm, *by Gaye Hicyilmaz. Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1992. $14.95*

When twelve-year-old Mehmet and his family leave their Turkish village in search of a better life in Ankara, disappointment and stark poverty enter their lives. With the help of a streetwise orphan and a kind friend, Mehmet struggles to survive and learns the strength of his own will. (10 and up)

Ajeemah and His Son, *by James Berry. Willa Perlman Books/HarperCollins, New York, 1992. $12.89*

On the way to the house of his son Atu's bride-to-be to deliver a dowry, Ajeemah and his son are kidnapped and sold into slavery. Along with dozens of other slaves they are herded on a ship off the southwest coast of Africa and taken to Jamaica where they are sold to neighboring plantation owners—never to see each other again. The award-winning author captures well the bewilderment, hurt, and anger felt by these tragic victims of the British African slave trade which flourished until early in the nineteenth century. (12 to 16)

A to Zen: A Book of Japanese Culture, *by Ruth Wells. Illustrated by Yoshi. Picture Book Studio, Distributed by Simon & Schuster, New York, 1992. $15.95*

A to Zen is an alphabetical approach to Japanese culture beginning with aikido and continuing on with words such as bunraku, futon, nippon, sushi, etc. Going from back to front and from right to left, the book defines all words and is beautifully illustrated in a technique using dyes on silk cloth. (8 and up)

Beggars' Ride, *by Theresa Nelson. Orchard Books, New York, 1992. $15.95*

Almost thirteen, Clare lives alone and homeless in Atlantic City. Rather than live at home, where she was abused by her stepfather, she chooses as her family a group of street kids, who, like herself, have life stories they prefer to keep secret. After Clare passes a dangerous initiation test and becomes a full-fledged member of the gang, she discovers her own inner strength and goes on to another life when her stepfather moves away, and she re-establishes a good relationship with her mother. (10 and up)

Behind the Secret Window: A Memoir of a Hidden Childhood, *by Nelly S. Toll. Dial, New York, 1993. $17*

This powerful World War II survival memoir recounts a dramatic, fear-filled childhood in a Jewish ghetto in Poland during which Nelly Toll lost many family members, including her father and young brother. At the same time she was keeping a written record, Nelly used watercolors to fashion happy pictures devoid of the atrocities of war. Twenty-nine of them are reproduced here in full color. (12 and up)

Blue Claws, *by Walter L. Krudop. Atheneum, New York, 1993. $14.95*

This warm, gentle picture book describes a little boy's first visit alone with his sometimes difficult grandfather. His grandfather, who lives by the seashore, teaches him how to catch crabs. He

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learns the right bait to use, the right way to prepare the crab lines, and the right way to pick up a captured crab, and through this experience gets to know Grandpa better than ever before. The book is filled with exquisite paintings depicting this simple, tender relationship between child and grandparent. (6 to 8)

Blue Skin of the Sea, *by Graham Salisbury. Delacorte, New York, 1992. $15*

Sonny grows up in Hawaii enjoying his large family who fish the beautiful waters, but wonders why he feels terror rather than joy when at sea. A fine coming-of-age story in which a boy and his father, despite their differences, show love for each other. (12 and up)

Child of the Holy Ghost, *by Robert Laxalt. University of Nevada Press, Reno, 1992. $19.95*

When Peter leaves Nevada to visit his Basque relatives in Southern France, he is surprised by the depth of some of the villagers' prejudice and cruelty. Gradually, he learns secrets about his grandmother, who bore a love child, his own mother. She fled France for the U.S. to create a normal adult life. There, she met Peter's father, a Basque shepherd, who had left because of death threats from smugglers. Together they began a new, more tolerant Basque American family. (14 and up)

Dear Dr. Bell...Your friend, Helen Keller, *by Judith St. George. Illustrated with photographs. Putnam, New York, 1992. $15.95*

Following her first meeting with Alexander Graham Bell, seven-year-old Helen Keller wrote him a note. Thus began a correspondence and friendship that continued until Dr. Bell's death. Their stories are told in this dual biography that shows the power of the human spirit to overcome great obstacles. (9 to 12)

Elijah's Angel: A Story for Chanukah and Christmas, *by Michael J. Rosen. Illustrated by Aminah Brenda Lynn Robinson. Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1992. $13.95*

How can a Jewish boy accept a carved angel, a graven image, from an old black woodcarver without disobeying God? Young Michael discovers the answer and gives Elijah Pierce a menorah in return. This unusual true story of love and sharing is illustrated with paintings resembling Pierce's carvings by Aminah Robinson—also a friend of Elijah. (5 to 10)

Eskimo Boy: Life in an Inupiaq Eskimo Village, *text and photographs by Russ Kendall. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1992. $13.95*

Life in an Inupiaq Eskimo village is not easy—but the cold, the bleakness, and the isolation all have their beauties as well as their challenges. The story is told as seen through the eyes of Norman Kokeok, a seven-year-old Eskimo boy, whose days are filled with the security of traditional values and the joy of being young. (6 to 10)

The Falcon's Wing, *by Dawna Lisa Buchanan. Orchard Books, New York, 1992. $13.95*

After her mother's death, twelve-year-old Bryn tries to make a new life when her uncommunicative father moves them to a rural town in Canada to live with her stern Aunt Pearl and her cousin Winnie, a loving girl with Down's syndrome. With Winnie as the catalyst, everyone gets another chance to try to succeed at family relationships. (10 to 12)

Finding My Voice, *by Marie G. Lee. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1992. $13.95*

Caught between her strict, traditionalist Korean father's desire for her to get top grades for college and her desire for some fun in her senior year of high school, Ellen tries to ignore the racial prejudice exhibited by classmates and her teachers until a confrontation forces her to take a stand. (12 and up)

Freedom's Children: Young Civil Rights Activists Tell Their Own Stories, *by Ellen Levine. Putnam, New York, 1993. $16.95*

The Birmingham church bombing, the Montgomery bus boycott, sit-ins, freedom rides, and other protests of the civil rights movement come alive as thirty African-Americans who participated in the movement when they were children and teen-agers vividly recall the suffering and courage of those times. (11 and up)

Front Porch Stories, *by Eleanora E. Tate. Illustrated by Eric Velasquez. Bantam Skylark, New York, 1992. $15*

Sitting on the front porch to catch a breath of air when the summer nights are hot and the mosquitoes are biting, twelve-year-

Selection by...

Janet Austin, Media Specialist/Librarian, Clifton High School, Clifton, New Jersey
Joseph Benkovitz, Librarian, Springfield Gardens High School, New York
Yolanda Bonitch, Community Specialist, The New York Public Library, New York
Consuelo Harris, Head of the Main Children's Department, Public Library of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Michael Patrick Hearn, Author, Critic, Teacher, Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts
Marjorie Lewis, Author, Critic, School Library Media Specialist, Heathcote Schools, Scarsdale, New York
Ellen V. LiBretto, Young Adult Consultant, Queens Borough Public Library, Jamaica, New York
Karlan Sick, Young Adult Specialist, The New York Public Library, Bronx, New York
Mary Jane Tacchi, Assistant Coordinator, Young Adult Services, The New York Public Library, New York
Judy Zuckerman, Children's Specialist, The New York Public Library, Bronx, New York

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old Margie Carsons's daddy spins out his stories of growing up in Nutbrush, Missouri—wonderful tales about slavery, ghosts, about the one-room schoolhouse with his Aunt Daisy as teacher, about the flood that left cows in the treetops, about the time Mary McLeod Bethune and Eleanor Roosevelt came to visit. And—about the gallinippers! (9 to 12)

The Girl Who Loved Caterpillars, *adapted by Jean Merrill. Illustrated by Floyd Cooper. Philomel/Putnam, New York, 1992. $14.95*

As the daughter of an important official in the Emperor's court in Kyoto, Izumi was expected to follow lady-like pursuits of the Japanese court. Instead, this independent and daring young heroine studies, plays with, and talks to caterpillars. The original story, adapted here by Jean Merrill, was found on a twelfth-century scroll. (8 to 12)

Happy Birthday, Martin Luther King, *by Jean Marzollo. Illustrated by J. Brian Pinkney. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1993. $14.95*

A simple and powerful introduction to the life and work of the famed civil rights leader, with warm-toned scratchboard illustrations. (3 to 7)

Hoang Breaks the Lucky Teapot, *by Rosemary Breckler. Illustrated by Adrian B. Frankel. Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1992. $13.95*

When Hoang's family came to America from Vietnam, he brought a *Gia Truyen*, a lucky teapot from his Grandmother, and his own vivid imagination. That imagination causes him to break the teapot and release Bad Fortune. How he brings Good Fortune back makes a story as warm and comforting as a cup of tea. (6 to 8)

I Will Sing Life, *by Larry Berger, Dahlia Lithwick, and Seven Campers. Photographs by Robert Benson. Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1992. $22.95*

Youths from Paul Newman's Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, aged 7 to 17, all of whom have faced life-threatening diseases, speak candidly and with humor about their lives. Through their poems they reveal their fears and hopes for the future. (12 and up)

Kinda Blue, *by Ann Grifalconi. Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1993. $15.95*

Enormous feelings of loneliness sweep over seven-year-old Sissy for the loss of a father who died when she was a baby. She is comforted by her farmer uncle who lovingly assures her that people, like plants, need "watering" to show that someone cares and a caring love can help make the sadness go away. Warmly illustrated in pastels and watercolors. (6 to 8)

Kiss the Dust, *by Elizabeth Laird. Dutton Children's Books, New York, 1992. $15*

As a personal account of a young girl's life in Iraq, this novel will help older children understand the suffering of the Kurds. Tara is at first ignorant of what has happened when a boy is shot down in the streets, but after her family flees their home and ends up in a camp in Iran, her eyes are opened about the nature of oppression. By the end of the book, Tara realizes that whatever happens politically, the treasure of any ethnic group is the memory and life of its people. (12 and up)

Letters from Rifka, *by Karen Hesse. Henry Holt, New York, 1992. $14.95*

In 1919 Rifka and her family flee to America to escape the harsh treatment of Jews in Russia. The twelve-year-old girl is separated from her family when she contracts ringworm and continues her journey alone. She tells her story of hardships and courage through letters to her cousin written in the blank pages of a book of Pushkin's poetry. Based on a true story. (10 to 14)

Letters from a Slave Girl: The Story of Harriet Jacobs, *by Mary E. Lyons. Scribners, New York, 1992. $14.95*

Based on Harriet Jacobs's own autobiography, these "letters" provide the opportunity to experience the day-to-day life of a girl caught in the bonds of slavery. Harriet's story opens with the hope of freedom as a dying mistress pledges to set the young slave free in her will. But broken promises abound and Harriet endures many hardships at the hands of her new owners and more struggles when she flees. (8 to 14)

Magic Eyes, *by Wendy Ewald (from stories told by Alicia and Maria Vasquez). Photographs by Wendy Ewald and children of Raquira, Colombia. Bay Press, 115 West Denny Way, Seattle, WA 98119, 1992. $18.95*

During two years spent teaching in a Colombian village, the author listened to the voices of the children and their families. She shares their stories of love, magic, poverty, and disgrace. The black and white photos add to the value of the text by allowing the reader to meet the people of Raquira, Colombia. (14 and up)

Malcolm X: By Any Means Necessary, *by Walter Dean Myers. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1993. $13.95*

The life and death of the assassinated African-American leader who left a lasting and controversial legacy to the history of the struggle for racial equality in America. Includes a chronology of Malcolm X's life from 1925-65, comparing the major events of his life to landmark events in American history. (12 and up)

Mama, I Want to Sing, *by Vy Higginson with Tonya Bolden. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1992. $13.95*

After making her mark as the youngest gospel singer in her father's church, Doris climbs to the top of the pop charts armed

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with faith in her parents' love, faith in her religion, and faith in her talent. (12 to 16)

Masai and I, *by Virginia Kroll. Four Winds, New York, 1992. $13.95*

The Masai culture comes to life for Linda, a young urban African-American, through a school assignment which introduces her to the tools and art of this proud African people. Linda fantasizes about what her life might be like if she were transplanted to East Africa. The contrasting scenes of urban America and rural Africa are richly illustrated in oil and colored pencil. (6 to 10)

Morning Girl, *by Michael Dorris. Hyperion, New York, 1992. $12.95*

It's 1492 and a twelve-year-old Taino girl on a Bahamian island passes her days playing—and quarreling—with her brother, helping—and arguing—with her affectionate parents, serenely at one with her beautiful surroundings. One morning, while she is swimming, a canoe filled with "fat people" arrives. She cheerfully welcomes the strangers, not knowing that their arrival will end her paradise forever. (9 to 12)

My Grandfather's Hat, *by Melanie Scheller. Illustrated by Keiko Narahashi. Margaret McElderry Books, New York, 1992. $13.95*

After a little boy's grandfather dies, he receives the man's old, battered hat as a memento. When Jason puts the oversized hat on, he remembers all the good times he and his grandfather shared. The subtle color drawings beautifully capture the spirit of this quiet study of love and loss. (4 to 8)

Neighborhood Odes, *by Gary Soto. Illustrated by David Diaz. Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1992. $15.95*

Twenty-one poems celebrate the simple joys of everyday life in a Latino neighborhood. Vivid, sensitive images interweave Spanish words with the English. (10 and up)

Neve Shalom/Wahat-al-Salam: Oasis of Peace, *by Laurie Dolphin. Illustrated with photos by Ben Dolphin. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1993. $14.95*

This true story is about two young Israeli boys, a Jew and an Arab Muslim, who meet and begin a friendship at school in a progressive community designed to foster mutual respect and peace between the two ethnic groups. The thriving community school plans to expand its enrollment to more than twice its present size. (6 to 10)

No Place to Be: Voices of Homeless Children, *by Judith Berck. Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1992. $14.95*

Homeless children in New York City, ages 9 to 18, describe the harsh realities of their lives in various types of temporary housing. Interviews with the children are interspersed with facts and statistics that reveal the extent of homelessness in America. (10 and up)

Peace Tales: World Folktales to Talk About, *by Margaret Read MacDonald. Shoe String Press, Linnet Books, P.O. Box 4327, Hamden, CT 06514, 1992. Hardcover, $22.50, paperback, $13.95*

Written with charm, humor, and whimsy, these thirty-four folktales from countries around the world are wonderful for reading or telling to children. The author has grouped the tales, which reflect the universal desire for an end to conflict, according to their morals about war and peace, so that individually or collectively the tales can contribute to a child's peace education. The author has added an epilogue which encourages children to think about peace and a bibliography of additional resources. (8 to 12)

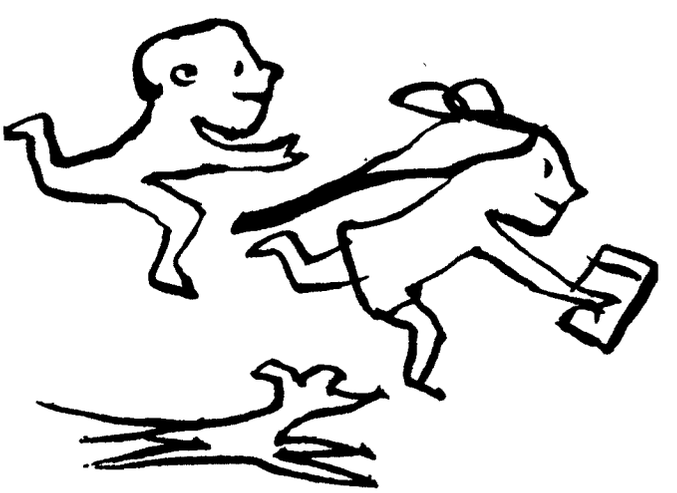
The Pigman and Me, *by Paul Zindel. A Charlotte Zolotow Book/HarperCollins, New York, 1992. $14*

The year Pulitzer Prize-winning author and playwright Paul Zindel moves to Staten Island with his eccentric family is the year he meets the real-life model for "Pigman"—Nonno Frankie Vivona. It's also the year Zindel discovers his writing talent as well as the marvelous, unique advantages of being "different," and following Nonno Frankie's advice, finds that "experience" is indeed all. (12 and up)

The Rains Are Coming, *by Sanna Stanley. Greenwillow Books, New York, 1993. $14*

Aimee's father is a missionary in Zaire, and the girl invites her new friends Luzolo, Siamu, Matondo, and Kiese to a party. But when rains threaten the celebrations, they gather up all the party things and shoo the animals into the shed as they seek shelter from the storm. The lovely etchings with aquatints display warm panoramas of a remote African village. (5 to 8)

Rising Voices: Writings of Young Native Americans, *selected by Arlene B. Hirschfelder and Beverly R. Singer. Scribners, New York, 1992. $12.95*



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Young Native Americans write about identity, family, ritual, ceremony, and other topics. They see..."Beauty in the old way of life..." and vow, "We shall learn all the devices of the white man, but we'll retain our beauty, and still be Indians!" (12 and up)

Sami and the Time of the Troubles, *by Florence Parry Heide and Judith Heide Gilliland. Illustrated by Ted Lewin. Clarion Books, New York, 1992. $14.95*

Sami lives in Beirut in "a time of guns and bombs." This ten-year-old boy talks poignantly about the "quiet days" and the days when he cannot go outside because of gunfire in the streets. When the bombs come close, Sami's family finds ways to be together as a family and help one another. Though war games seem natural for Sami and his friends, he joins with other children in marching for peace. (6 to 10)

Song of the Buffalo Boy, *by Sherry Garland. Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1992. $15.95*

Shunned and mistreated because of her mixed heritage and determined to avoid an arranged marriage, seventeen-year-old Loi fakes her death and runs away to Ho Chi Minh City with the hope that she and Khai, the boy she loves, will be able to go to the United States to find her American father. Identifying her birth father proves impossible, however, and Loi decides to remain in Vietnam determined to live proudly as an Amerasian. (12 and up)

Songs of My People, *Eric D. Easter, Michael Cheers, and Dudley M. Brooke, editors. Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1992. $24.95*

The joy of college graduation, the vacant look of a prisoner in a Texas jail, a grandmother mastering the Hula Hoop, a cowboy performing in a rodeo—these are only a few of the glimpses of African-American lives as presented by fifty black photojournalists. From the homeless to the affluent, from women surgeons to gang members, this self-portrait of contemporary African-Americans covers a broad spectrum. (10 and up)

Soul Daddy, *by Jacqueline Roy. Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1992. $16.95*

The black father of twin sisters Hannah and Rosie suddenly reenters their lives and that of their white mother. A rock musician, he had left home before they were born, and so they are meeting him and their half sister for the first time. Living in suburban London with a rock star is drastically different from the life the twins had known, and it becomes a challenge for them and everyone else in the family to learn to live together amicably. (13 and up)

Steal Away, *by Jennifer Armstrong. Orchard Books, New York, 1992. $15.95*

Bethlehem, a former slave, and Susannah, her former mistress, had escaped as thirteen-year-olds from Virginia to freedom in the North. As grown women, many years later, they share their tale with two other thirteen-year-olds, a granddaughter and a pupil. Although frightened by the prejudice experienced by the storytellers, both girls are touched by their courage and loyalty. (10 to 12)

Taste of Salt, *by Frances Temple. (Richard Jackson Books) Orchard Books, New York, 1992. $14.95*

Haiti is the setting for this novel about two young people—Djo, one of Father Aristide's street urchins and Jeremie, a young woman educated at a convent school. They meet at Djo's hospital bedside where he is near death from a beating at the hands of the Tonton Macoute. Their accounts are full of the grim realities and helplessness of life in modern Haiti. But there is also hope for a better future. (14 and up)

This Is My House, *by Arthur Dorros. Scholastic, Inc., New York, 1992. $14.95*

What kind of houses do children around the world live in? This picture book shows many kinds of dwellings, the people who live in them, and why that kind of house is built in that land. This book will also expand the language awareness of children because on each page "This is my house" is written in the language of the country pictured. The phrase is also written phonetically, so that people who read this book to children may comfortably pronounce the words. (3 to 10)

This Quiet Lady, *by Charlotte Zolotow. Pictures by Anita Lobel. Greenwillow, New York, 1992. $14*

A little girl discovers her family photo album and delights in seeing pictures of her mother at various stages of her life, beginning in infancy and going on through childhood, young adulthood, and marriage. The continuity of life is affirmed when the child sees a photo of her mother with herself as an infant in her mother's arms. With warm illustrations in watercolor and gouache. (3 to 6)

This Same Sky, *edited by Naomi Shihab Nye. Four Winds, New York, 1992. $15.95*

Poems from sixty-eight countries will delight readers wishing to explore the work of contemporary poets. One hundred and nine poets from such diverse lands as Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Israel here reflect the differences and similarities of all our lives and prove the universality of fine poetry. (10 and up)

Twelve Days in August, *by Liza Ketchum Murrow. Holiday House, New York, 1993. $14.95*

In this sports-based novel of prejudice, hypocrisy, and competition, newcomer Alex Beekman is a sure bet for the starting lineup on the soccer team in the fall—and a possible rival for Todd O'Connor's or Randy Tovich's position. Randy, the tough talking star of last year's squad, insists that Alex is a homosexual and starts a name-calling campaign to force Alex from the

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team. Should Todd stick up for Alex and confront Randy? A family secret is involved as Todd struggles to make a decision that will affect his own life and relationships as well as the future of the team. (12 to 15)

A Visit to Amy-Claire, *by Claudia Mills. Macmillan, New York, 1992. $14.95*

Last year, when Rachel visited her older cousin Amy-Claire, they had a wonderful time together, but this year Amy-Claire only wants to play house with Jessie, Rachel's two-year-old sister. Feeling left out and lonely, Rachel finally joins the game and finds out that being a "real" big sister is much nicer than being a "pretend." (4 to 6)

When Heroes Die, *by Penny Raife Durant. Atheneum, New York, 1992. $13.95*

When twelve-year-old Gary learns that his beloved Uncle Rob—who was like a father to him—is not only ill but has AIDS and is gay, Gary is thrown into confusion and self-doubt. It was Uncle Rob who gave Gary confidence that he could excel in sports, as Uncle Rob had when he was in school; he was also the one who helped Gary build self-confidence around girls. Finally, it is Uncle Rob who helps Gary to trust again and live a full life, confident in his own identity. (12 and up)

When Joel Comes Home, *by Susi Gregg Fowler. Illustrated by Jim Fowler. Greenwillow Books, New York, 1993. $14*

Joel is the baby from overseas adopted by Jean and George. The young narrator of this story, a close friend, is eager to greet the new baby. This picture book tells how the family and friends go together to the airport to meet Joel and how they welcome with great joy this extension to their family. (3 to 6)

Who Comes with Cannons?, *by Patricia Beatty. Morrow Jr. Books, New York, 1992. $14*

After her father's death, Truth Hopkins goes to North Carolina to live with kind relatives. This Quaker family's life changes with the Civil War when their Underground Railroad work becomes more dangerous and their beloved sons are forced to march with the Confederate Army. (10 to 14)

Words of Stone, *by Kevin Henkes. Greenwillow Books, New York, 1992. $13*

Blaze and Joselle are misfits. He is fearful; she is fearless. Also, Blaze's mother died of cancer, and Joselle's mother has run off with her new boyfriend. But after Joselle plays a cruel joke on

Blaze, the two slowly become close friends. How can Joselle tell him that she is the one who spelled the name of his dead mother on the hillside? Forgiveness finds a place in this sad, touching story. (10 and up)

Working Cotton, *by Sherley Anne Williams. Illustrated by Carole Byard. Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1992. $14.95*

The hard life of a migrant family who pick cotton from dawn to dusk is tempered by the affection and admiration each family member has for the others—even Shelan, who is too small to carry her own sack but whose words tell this story of courage and pride. (6 to 10)

Yang the Youngest and His Terrible Ear, *Lensey Namioka. Illustrated by Kees de Kiefte. Joy Street/Little, Brown & Co., New York, 1992. $13.95*

Nine-year-old Yingtao is tone deaf and the youngest child in a family of musicians. Newly arrived from China, he puts much effort into learning English, making friends at school, and practicing his hated violin. With humor and ingenuity Yingtao saves the family name from shame at a music recital when he contrives to have a friend play the violin in his place. When his plot is uncovered, Yingtao finally shares his secret love of baseball with his family. (6 to 9)

Your Dad Was Just Like You, *by Dolores Johnson. Macmillan, New York, 1993. $13.95*

Peter and his father are always fighting, and when the boy accidently breaks his father's trophy he runs off to live with his grandfather. But his grandfather tells Peter how his dad got the trophy and that his father is really not that different from himself, and the book ends with a happy reconciliation of father and son. The characters in the book are African-Americans, but they could belong to any racial or ethnic group. (5 to 8)

For the complete "Human Family" booklist, send a number 10 envelope, self-addressed and stamped to:
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 71 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10003

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(Continued from page 15)
error and harm. What happens if the Vatican pressures a bishop to take away the mandate of a particular theologian? Larger and more national institutions will be in a better position to resist any outside interference, but smaller institutions which are more dependent on the local church and the local bishop will be much more vulnerable.

Question 4: How will accrediting associations and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which monitors academic freedom, respond? Again, no one knows for sure. The AAUP's 1940 statement on academic freedom contains a limitations clause allowing religiously sponsored institutions to spell out explicitly the limitations on academic freedom at that particular institution. However, the AAUP has subsequently expressed strong disapproval of using the limitations clause, and the association is still searching for a policy in this area. Catholic higher education leaders would try to convince their colleagues and accrediting associations not to expel them. Two consequences are clear. First, the ordinances will at least cast a long and dark shadow over the enterprise of Catholic higher education. Two, any institutions in which ecclesiastical action is taken against a theologian will lose credibility in the eyes of the academic community.

Question 5: How will the ordinances affect state and federal funding for Catholic higher education? Some scholars (e.g., Douglas Laycock, Kenneth Whitehead) maintain that religious institutions of higher learning should be able to place limits on academic freedom and still obtain state and federal funding. Others (e.g., Dana Davis) argue that even before the ordinances Catholic institutions should not have been receiving government funding.

At the very least, Catholic educators seriously fear the loss of state and federal funding if they do not have full academic freedom. The Supreme Court in the *Tilton* case (1971) ruled five to four that Catholic colleges could receive such funding precisely because, among other things, they accepted academic freedom; whereas Catholic grammar schools and high schools could not receive funding. The fear of losing such funding, with its threat to their very existence, strongly influenced Catholic colleges to accept academic freedom in the late 1960s.

Question 6: What about Catholic college and university presidents? These are the people caught in the middle. In general they have resisted all attempts to restrict academic freedom and to impose a mandate from bishops on theologians. However, the ordinances show that the leaders of Catholic higher education misjudged the present climate in the church. They thought they could convince the bishops not to require a mandate based on the provision in *Ex corde ecclesiae* to respect local traditions, customs, and laws.

I believe these leaders will continue to try to change the proposed ordinances—but only up to a point. These presidents also feel the need to protect their institutional survival. If the ordinances are finally approved, the leaders of Catholic higher education will try to find a way to live with them and to convince their peers in higher education that the ordinances are not all that bad. Thus, at the present time they dare not cry wolf too loud and too long.

I believe it is most important to continue to make the case that academic freedom in Catholic higher education ultimately serves the good of the whole church, but this argument today often falls on deaf ears. Despite my personal position, my realistic assessment concludes that the bishops will pass the ordinances and usher in a very critical time for Catholic higher education. □

The Rev. Charles E. Curran is the Elizabeth Scurlock professor of human values at Southern Methodist University.

Joseph A. Komonchak

By some people—not all of them non-Catholic—a Catholic university has been considered a contradiction-in-terms. Others point out instead that linking Catholic and university is a tautology. Clearly these two groups assign different meanings to the adjective. For the critics "Catholic" means sectarian, with probable connotations of hierarchical censorship. For the others, "Catholic" means interactive, comprehensive, synthesizing, which is (or at least was) also denoted by the word "university."

The large "c" in "Catholic," of course, adds an identifying center of integration or synthesis—the person of Jesus Christ. Whether this makes the adjective particular or sectarian (and therefore in tension with, if not contradiction of, the noun "university") will depend on the answers to two questions. The first is whether or not Christ and the church that serves his redemptive purpose constitute a historical intervention that repudiates all that the world stands for, so that, as in Tertullian's famous expostulation, the church should have nothing to do with the academy.

The other linked question is the question of faith: whether, that is, the all-comprehensive, all-creative, all-redemptive *Logos* of God, the light that enlightens everyone who comes into the world, has become flesh in Jesus of Nazareth. If this is so, then the incarnate *Logos* is the key also to the *logos*, the intelligibility, of all that exists, and the desired goal of the *logos* that drives every human spirit. If this is so, then the reference to Jesus Christ is not particularizing, but rather the identification of the centering point around which the *universitas rerum* finds its intelligible, synthesizing unity. Then the question whether there can in principle be a "Catholic university" reduces finally to the question of whether that underlying faith in the *Logos* made flesh is reasonable. For those who believe it is not, the specifying reference to Jesus Christ will always be considered in tension with the idea of a university. For those who believe it is reasonable, something like a university will instead be considered a natural forum in which to express and to serve the recapitulation of all things in Christ.

In principle, restated most recently in *Ex corde ecclesiae*,

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the Catholic church has always repudiated Tertullian's sectarianism. But besides theory, there is also practice. And a practice that would embody the full Catholic thrust toward integration has to respect some inner exigencies of this effort. Among them is what Newman called "elbow room." In *The Idea of a University* the metaphor appears in his defense of freedom of scientific inquiry; but in later writings, after more experience of Catholic authority, he used it to refer also to freedom in theological inquiry. "I cannot," he wrote, "work without elbow room. I cannot fight under the lash, as the Persian slaves."

This was more than a personal protest. It rested on two "cardinal maxims" and a "practical conclusion" that followed from them. The principles were that "truth cannot be contrary to truth" and that "truth often *seems* contrary to truth"; the practical conclusion is that "we must be patient with such appearances, and not be hasty to pronounce them to be really of a more formidable character." The first maxim grounds the possibility of a Catholic university; the second grounds its necessity or at least great usefulness; the practical conclusion requires structures and procedures that respect the need to show patience and to avoid haste in judgment.

It is important to note that divine revelation and a Spirit-guided magisterium do not solve the problem articulated in the two maxims and addressed in the practical conclusion; they create the problem. It is precisely because Catholics believe that besides those truths sought and discovered by the exercise of intelligence and reason, there is also the world of truth disclosed in Jesus Christ that it is necessary to repeat that one truth cannot contradict the other. Apparent conflicts arise, not only because our reasoning powers are finite, but also because, as Vatican I put it, "the divine mysteries, by their very nature, so far surpass the created intellect that, even when a revelation has been given and accepted by faith, they remain covered by the veil of faith and wrapped as it were in a certain darkness as long as in this mortal life 'we are away from the Lord, since we walk by faith and not by sight.'" If reason were all-comprehensive and if faith were sight or, to be more concrete, if scholars were always correct and popes and bishops always infallible, there could be no conflict.

"Eventually," Newman trusted, such a conflict will "turn out, first, *not* to be proved, or, secondly, not *contradictory*, or thirdly not contradictory to anything *really revealed*, but to something that has been confused with revelation." "Eventually," he said; that is, not instantaneously, not hastily, not without patient effort, not without collaboration, and not without freedom: "Truth is wrought out by many minds, working together freely."

Ex corde ecclesiae has many fine things that echo Newman's first principle and its validation of the notion of a Catholic university. But both it and the "ordinances" drafted in order to implement it in the United States give insufficient expression to the problem stated in the second maxim and to the institutional exigencies of the patience and freedom needed to resolve it "eventually." Both documents take for granted the limited character of scholars and their insights and propose structures for addressing problems this creates. That popes and bishops also are limited—and that their limited insights may be the source of apparent conflicts between truth and truth—is less clearly acknowledged, and no clear or effective means are offered to prevent or to resolve such cases.

Mere institutions and structures, of course, are not going to prevent or to resolve all problems—to think so is the temptation indulged by more than a few current definitions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. But one may at least ask that the issues be posed in their full concreteness: that the source of problems be acknowledged to exist on both sides, that the need for intellectual, moral, and religious integrity be urged on both parties, that respect for legitimate rights be expressed in structures and procedures that guide and limit both sides. Until that is done, for all the good will in the world, for all the effort visible in these ordinances to reach effective compromises, an impression will remain (not confined to outsiders), the one that Newman expressed: "that the church has no other method of putting down error than the arm of force, or the prohibition of inquiry." □

The Rev. Joseph A. Komonchak is professor of theology at The Catholic University of America.

Anita M. Pampusch

The proposed ordinances for the U.S. implementation of *Ex corde ecclesiae* recently drew together eighteen of my fellow college and university presidents from six midwestern states for several hours of discussion with two bishops. I was surprised by the passion of the exchange. This was an important dialogue in which we all recognized not only the potential implications of the apostolic constitution for our own institutions but also of the importance of the American response to it. Half of all Catholic colleges and universities in the world are to be found in the United States. Our group found *Ex corde ecclesiae* an inspiring document. But there was also broad concern that the attempt to draft ordinances appropriate to a diverse set of institutions was difficult, if not impossible.

Questions about the interpretation, meaning, and applicability of specific directives to such a diverse set of institutions—ranging from two-year technical colleges to research universities—left me pondering the following questions. (1) How well does the model of the Catholic research university, which underlies the ordinances, apply to the College of Saint Catherine and most U.S. Catholic colleges and universities? (2) How will *Ex corde ecclesiae* and the proposed ordinances support and strengthen our work? (3) What practical plan will be needed for the extensive dialogue between institutions and bishops that is required by the proposed ordinances?

As a philosopher, I am drawn to the ideal of a Catholic research university with well-prepared theologians and scholars engaged in theological research ready to educate young Catholics at the graduate level, as well as to engage scholars of other faith

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traditions, or of no tradition, in the work of exploring and integrating faith and reason. Although an ideal to which many schools may aspire, I do not think it describes the reality of most U.S. Catholic colleges and universities.

To begin, most are small and committed primarily to undergraduate teaching. Their student bodies are not homogeneous in purpose, age, or religious affiliation. The same is true of their faculties. Even the large universities have become more diverse in their faculties, students, and programs. Nor are our colleges isolated pockets of Catholic thought and culture; they are very much in the mainstream of intellectual life—something I consider a strength, not a weakness. It is true they have become products of their culture even as they have tried to critique it. The lines between faith and culture cannot be as neatly drawn as *Ex corde ecclesiae* and its ordinances would like. The context in which American colleges and universities operate is not shared in most other countries of the world: unlike those institutions that need church support to assert and maintain their independence from the state, ours require state support and a measure of autonomy in order to survive. Generally speaking, we receive no financial support from the church.

Understanding our institutions to be Catholic primarily in terms of the doctrinal purity of theology courses (which seems to be the burden of *Ex corde ecclesiae* and the proposed ordinances) does not do justice to our missions. We remain solidly Catholic in our identities and adherence to church teachings as expressed in our institutional behaviors; we provide counsel and support to all students in matters of ethics and spirituality; we offer excellent theology courses taught by well-educated faculties. In addition, we are deeply committed to the social mission of the church, welcoming students of all ages and backgrounds, knowing that education is the surest way to self-sufficiency and independence in our society.

Most Catholic institutions are small, fewer than 5,000 students. They were founded by religious congregations of women and men who continue to support them in their missions and to serve in faculty and administrative positions. These small, congregational institutions are described as "others" in *Ex corde ecclesiae* and we are urged to apply the norms "as far as possible." While this may seem to offer some flexibility in the application of the norms, the current draft of the ordinances does not. The ordinances are ostensibly meant to apply to all of us irrespective of institutional type or origin. Therein lies the difficulty.

Ex corde ecclesiae points out the indispensable role of Catholic colleges and universities. It urges the entire ecclesial community to support and assist them, to guard their rights and freedom in civil society, and even to offer them economic aid. Unfortunately, the norms and ordinances focus not on support for our institutions but on directives for our behavior. The contrast between the lofty descriptions of our role and the tone of the norms and ordinances is striking. The latter seem to place new demands on the institutions, requirements that are not only difficult to understand but whose procedures for implementation are not clear.

THE FUTURES OF CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES IN CHURCH AND SOCIETY
A Dialogue on Ex corde ecclesiae
Edited by John P. Langan, S.J.
Georgetown University Press, $14.95, 272 pp.

John F. Hunt & Paul C. Saunders

In the spring of 1993, Georgetown University sponsored a symposium at which a number of distinguished American scholars and well-credentialed lawyers took a close look at *Ex corde ecclesiae*, Pope John Paul II's apostolic constitution on Catholic higher education. *Ex corde ecclesiae* establishes criteria for "universities" that are or wish to be "in" the Roman Catholic church; it articulates the requisite "identity" and "mission" for such institutions of higher education; and it imposes general norms for their establishment, governance structures, and conduct. The document delegates to national episcopal conferences the adoption of particular rules, subject to Vatican scrutiny, appropriate in light of local circumstances (the proposed ordinances from the NCCB, which are included in this volume along with the text of the apostolic constitution and the general norms, are now being circulated to the bishops and Catholic college and university presidents).

Ex corde ecclesiae poses several difficulties in the areas of governance structures, and standards of conduct for those American universities and colleges (which are included in the use of the term university) that wish to be "officially" Catholic (assuming that is what is meant by the phrase "in" the church). Its promulgation compels, at least in the United States, consideration of the problems and consequences of conforming American universities and colleges now considered or assumed to be "Catholic" to this Vatican model. Because most Catholic schools probably have an option (under both canon and secular law) to decline to conform to *Ex corde ecclesiae*, its promulgation also invites consideration of the nature, feasibility, and desirability of developing university and college models that are "Catholic," but not officially so.

The essays included in the book looked at American Catholic educational history (Philip Gleason of Notre Dame), the place of the Catholic university in the church (Joseph Komonchak of The Catholic University), the Catholic identity of the Catholic university (Michael Buckley of Boston College), canon law (James Provost of The Catholic University), American civil law (Philip Burling and Gregory Moffatt, civil lawyers) and "intellectual" history (Jaroslav Pelikan of Yale). Equally qualified commentators at the symposium contributed both sub-

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For example, I subscribe to the sentiments of proposed ordinance 4, but I am not clear what they direct me (or my bishop) to do. I assume that he and I must, first of all, distinguish our "own proper roles" and define "the teaching of Catholic theological disciplines" (a phrase that came in for considerable discussion at our meeting) before we can act together to promote the appropriate teaching. Furthermore, it is hard to see how the closer scrutiny of the bishops and the greater accountability called for on the part of the schools will serve "to support and assist" our work. Rather, ordinance 4 implies a lack of trust in what we are doing. And it adds a layer of scrutiny and accountability sure to complicate our relationships with faculty governance systems as well as state, federal, and regional accrediting bodies.

Though *Ex corde ecclesiae* and the proposed ordinances desire closer collaboration between bishops and colleges, I would like to have a clearer description of the relationships envisioned between bishops and institutional authorities, and between bishops and theologians. To that end, a two-way (or three-way) dialogue is essential. The language of canon law and the tone of authoritative utterances do not themselves suggest either dialogue or collaboration, yet the ordinances, especially no. 4, imply it.

Such collaboration and discussion about expectations and respective roles would be welcomed by most college and university presidents. We do not want to be cast in an antagonistic role, nor do we want to view the hierarchy that way. Unfortunately, the tone of *Ex corde ecclesiae*, particularly in section 2, the general norms, is prescriptive and judgmental. The proposed ordinances of the U.S. bishops also adopt this kind of language, with no. 7 even anticipating disputes. A serious commitment by the hierarchy to engage in dialogue at the local level could be a helpful outcome of this whole discussion. But without it, college administrators are left with the impression that their work is suspect.

At its worst, the enactment of this draft of the proposed ordinances could sanction the intervention of diocesan authorities in the work of Catholic colleges and universities in ways that would weaken the latter and diminish the effectiveness of their work. At their best, *Ex corde ecclesiae* and a revised set of ordinances could usher in an era of collaboration and dialogue between church officials and officers of higher education that could make our work more effective.

I would hope for three things to emerge from our discussions:

- that together we can achieve a common understanding of the real nature of U.S. Catholic institutions;
- that, as a president of a college, I can be assured of a measure of support from the church for our work;
- that we can move ahead with a clearer understanding of how bishops and presidents will work together, through our colleges and universities, to address major societal and ecclesial needs. □

Anita M. Pampusch is president of the College of Saint Catherine, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

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stance and alternative insights to the presentations.

Everyone seriously involved in the enterprise of American Catholic higher education can benefit from reading this book. It should be required reading for those with responsibilities for responding to the proposed ordinances and for the overall questions raised by *Ex corde ecclesiae*. The required reading list should also include Sister Alice Gallin's *American Catholic Higher Education: Essential Documents, 1967-90* (University of Notre Dame Press). We would add to the list Newman's *The Idea of a University*, the volume most often cited in the Georgetown book.

A newcomer to American Catholic higher education need only be literate to sense the tensions reflected in this dialogue. Appreciation of these tensions and their origins is essential to understanding the nuances of the dialogue as well as *Ex corde ecclesiae* and its implications. Some portions of the dialogue may be understood to suggest the hope of some participants that the problems will go away if everyone just ignores them. This is not likely.

The portions of the apostolic constitution dealing with the identity and mission of the Catholic college or university (section 1) are a cogent and direct rearticulation of the best traditions of Catholic higher education. It is those portions that deal with governance structure and conduct (section 2) that are the source of the difficulty. The American bishops' initial effort to establish particular implementing rules—the proposed ordinances—for the United States, portend a strict application of the general norms and a seeming unwillingness to sponsor any accommodation to the American scene, as some educators had earlier hoped.

Simply stated, the model described in the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* as amplified in *Ex corde ecclesiae* requires that a majority of an institution's faculty be Catholic, that the lives of faculty members be lived with probity, that faculty members who teach theology have and continue to have authorization (a "mandate") from the local bishop, that theology be taught that is consistent with the teaching of the hierarchy, that the institution's own conduct (for example, in regard to the recognition of student organizations and in granting honorary degrees) be consistent with its Catholicism, that the institution cede to local episcopal authorities control over its compliance with these requirements, and that it incorporate this cession of authority in its governing documents.

In contrast, the American university model, in some areas reinforced by secular law, precludes colleges and universities (at least those that are not avowedly religious educational institutions; seminaries, for example) from employment discrimination based on religion (unless, as is plausibly the case with theology, religion is a bona fide occupational qualification); excludes "probity of life" (except perhaps in the case of conduct at the extreme) as a determinant of faculty status;

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insists that academic freedom exist and that judgments as to whether it has been abused be entrusted only to academic peers; and requires that institutional governance be entrusted solely to an institution's board of trustees.

The Vatican was fully informed of the inconsistencies between its model and the American model that most U.S. Catholic colleges and universities have attempted to conform to, at least since the late 1960s. Nevertheless, *Ex corde ecclesiae*, with substantial support in the Roman Catholic tradition, clearly demands departure from the American model.

All the Georgetown participants seem to assume that *Ex corde ecclesiae* will be adopted by most U.S. Catholic colleges and universities. Some of them suggest ways in which its harsher restrictions on autonomy and academic freedom might be "nuanced," as well as ways in which the dialogue between the academy and the hierarchy might continue and the tensions between them be abated. These suggestions implicitly recognize, but perhaps do not give sufficient weight to, the reality that given the hierarchical governance structure of the Roman Catholic church, the hierarchy is empowered to define all its "official" institutions and to enforce that definition when and as it chooses. While in a society as large and pluralistic as the United States there is clearly room for more than one model for higher educational institutions, it is uncertain, if not unlikely, that American society will choose to view such institutions as authentic universities.

Given this reality and this uncertainty, we note an important omission from the Georgetown dialogue of any significant reference to the U.S. experience under a parallel piece of church legislation, *Sapientia christiana*, which governs several of the faculties (the "pontifical" faculties) of The Catholic University of America as well as the omission of any reference to the significance of that legislation to the termination at the behest of the Vatican of one of its distinguished professors of theology, the Reverend Charles E. Curran.

In the Curran affair, a civil court upheld his termination, ruling in essence that because of the institution's explicit submission to the church in its governing documents, it could terminate Curran's status as a tenured member of its theology department and deny him the right to teach anything that smacked of theology on any of its faculties, even those that were not "pontifical." The court noted the tension between the institution's desire to be seen as a "full-fledged American university" on the one hand and as a part of the hierarchical church on the other, and the university's evident attempt to have it "both ways." When a choice had to be made whether academic freedom in theology should be subordinated to a decision of the pope, thus precluding the institution's having it "both ways," the court concluded that Catholic University was free to decide whether to be an American university or an arm of the church.

A large majority of American colleges and universities originally established under Catholic auspices by sponsors who intended them to be Catholic are not now either directly or indirectly subject to hierarchical control and, although they are juridical persons under secular law, they are not under canon law and thus not subject to church law. They are controlled by boards of trustees, a majority being lay members who may or may not be Catholic and whose Catholic members do not have a religious obligation to cause these corporate entities to elect to come under the norms of *Ex corde ecclesiae*. The Georgetown symposium materials do not fully address the issues posed by the promulgation of *Ex corde ecclesiae* for these colleges and universities and their governing bodies.

These institutions have three options (in addition to procrastination): to espouse *Ex corde ecclesiae*; to decline to do so; or, in the words of the court in the Curran case, to try "to have it both ways." The first choice is an irrevocable one given the requirement for the integration of hierarchical control into the institution's governing documents. The second choice involves many difficult problems, not the least of which is the serious risk of losing all Catholic identity. The third choice, trying to have two inconsistent identities (putting aside questions of honesty), is, as we think the history of The Catholic University demonstrates, unworkable, certainly in the long run.

It is incumbent then on U.S. Catholic scholars and administrators along with secular and canon lawyers to go beyond the Georgetown dialogue in order to inform and assist the boards of trustees of U.S. Catholic colleges and universities who will soon be called upon to answer these questions: Do you wish to cede your independence to the local bishop so that he may decide, for example, who may be hired to teach "theology" (a discipline extended by the hierarchy in the Curran case to include philosophy, ethics, and any other subject taught from a religious or theological perspective)? Who can be hired and who must be fired (for example, divorced Catholics remarried outside the church)? Whether anything taught contravenes church teachings? What student groups may be established? Who may receive honorary degrees? Do you wish to cede to the hierarchy the right to determine who will prevail in disputes between the bishop and your institution or its faculty or students? Is this too high a price to pay to enjoy "official" Catholic status?

Similar information and assistance will be required to help these same trustees answer the flip side of that question: How does their institution differentiate itself from a purely secular institution of higher education? If it is not different in significant ways, how can it in any sense be Catholic?

The challenge presented by *Ex corde ecclesiae*, only briefly touched on at Georgetown, may be whether dual status as Catholic and as a true university (American or otherwise) can be achieved other than purely as a matter of theory.

The Georgetown conference could not address the most important question, which must be left to future generations of scholars: Will *Ex corde ecclesiae* succeed in strengthening and improving the Catholic identity of U.S. Catholic higher education or only in destroying it? □

John F. Hunt and Paul C. Saunders are New York lawyers who represented the Reverend Charles E. Curran in his controversies with The Catholic University of America.

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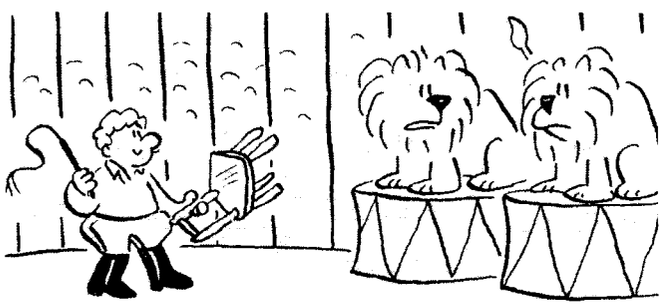
IT'S ALL IN THE ACTING

MAXWELL'S 'GETTYSBURG'

Gettysburg was conceived as a television film for TNT, but Ted Turner and colleagues apparently decided that this adaptation of Michael Shaara's *The Killer Angels* was impressive enough for the big screen. They were partly right. It is impressive, but it is an anomaly among big-scale war movies. Absorbing, moving in its intimate moments, *Gettysburg* is quite routine in its depiction of combat. Not particularly eye-filling, it nevertheless engages the mind and heart.

Director-writer Robert F. Maxwell's budget appears to have been well spent. I'm not a Civil War buff and can't attest to the movie's accuracy, but for me the feeling of historical otherness, cinema's time machine capability, was well maintained. The period evoked here looks both distant from ours and yet a stepping stone toward ours. Only one or two beards that seemed in need of another coat of spirit gum jolted me back to the present. But is perfect accuracy always desirable? The huge square beards and abundant moustaches that the officers sport certainly give them the look of Mathew Brady portraits, but it's unnerving to hear actors speak and not see their lips and jaws move.

But no matter how much was spent on assembling these blue and grey armies, the result isn't a unique vision of what happened to them on the battlefield. Here, whenever the bodies of soldiers are thrown into the air by exploding mines or are knocked over by musket fire, they always seem to be taking the same forward dive or sideways crumple. After a while, I began to feel that I was looking at a sort of grisly recycling effort: the same bodies going through the same deathly acrobatics over and over. Missing was the grim idiosyncrasy of violent demise, what John Huston was after in *The Red Badge of Courage* when he showed a mortally wounded youth groping for his spectacles in the dirt and succeeding in putting them back on just before flopping over dead. Only one battlefield moment in *Gettysburg* is comparable to that and you'll miss it if you blink. The camera passes along a line of soldiers under sporadic fire. They are loading, aiming, ducking, and so forth. But, toward



"Eventually, of course, I'd like to direct."

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the end of the line, we see a soldier *reading a letter*. Such a brief moment, yet it speaks eloquently of the boredom that coexists with extreme danger in combat. More moments like these in *Gettysburg* would have turned eight-hour-a-day movie extras into living individuals caught in the jaws of death.

Yet *Gettysburg* is cumulatively compelling. I haven't read Shaara's Pulitzer Prize-winning book, but Maxwell has spoken of it with reverence, and it's apparent that he has tried to preserve some of the depth of a good novel's characterizations and to give his actors opportunities to shine. It's also clear that as a writer and director of dialogue scenes, Maxwell is much more incisive and self-demanding than he is as a film tactician of carnage and glory. Not with the thunder of cannons does this movie reverberate but with the voices of men in tents and meadows lifted in argument, complaint, and condolence.

With the exception of Sam Elliott, who looks wonderfully shaggy as the prescient cavalry officer Buford but whose vocal delivery is ridiculous (one bark per sentence), all of the actors with substantial roles fulfill them.

As Longstreet, Lee's second-in-command, Tom Berenger brings off the same sort of triumph Daniel Day-Lewis enjoys in *The Age of Innocence*: he makes the audience come to him instead of reaching out to them. This reticence perfectly suits the character of a man who always knows his own mind but doesn't always speak it. With its precise employment of unemphatic gestures, commanding silhouette, and subtle vocal inflections, Berenger's performance whispers itself into the consciousness of the viewer.

As that unlikeliest but most likable of Union heroes, Colonel Chamberlain, that unlikeliest but most likable of leading men, Jeff Daniels, gambles and wins. He risks making the once-and-future university man seem at first to be the same sort of callow academic Daniels played in *Terms of Endearment*. Then, when circumstances put Chamberlain on the spot, Daniels flashes forth the mettle of the man. That the repelled charge on Little Round Top is the most exciting passage of arms in *Gettysburg* is only partly the result of its being Maxwell's best martial stage. For me, the scene's excitement was chiefly sustained by Daniels communicating the young officer's amazement at what is being demanded of him and his simultaneous resolve to measure up to the demand.

In smaller roles: Richard Jordan as Lewis Armistead, epitome of Southern gallantry and sentiment, has an uphill struggle to make a long, meandering speech (expressing love for a boyhood comrade turned foe) cohere. Jordan gets to the top of the hill. Patrick Gorman lets us see the underlying decency of a soreheaded self-justifier. One of America's best actors, Stephen Lange, has the surprisingly underwritten part of George Pickett. When asked by Longstreet if Pickett can capture an impossible target, Lange reveals all the crazy gallantry of his character in one unforgettable smile of berserk joy. As a (presumably) fictional Irish sergeant, Kevin Conway has the same sort of role Thomas Mitchell used to do to perfection in the '30s and '40s. Conway almost made me forget Mitchell.

Finally, precariously, Martin Sheen as Robert E. Lee. Even if this performance were a failure, it would be an heroic one, for Sheen had to do battle with his own inappropriate physical equipment. Though now in his early fifties, this actor still has a baby face that defies old-age make-up, and a voice that upon occasion (listen to him carefully if you don't believe me) sounds like Michael J. Fox's. But Sheen doesn't fail. He attains Lee's majesty through sheer concentration and imagination. Watch his eyes as he stares at, yet somehow beyond, his officers, as if envisioning horrors looming up on the horizon. Watch his almost maternal gestures as he receives the adulation of his troops while reviewing them and the way he makes Lee appear crushed by so much love even as he returns their blessings. Sheen captures the essence of the Lee that Maxwell wants us to know: a man utterly without ferocity who nevertheless has the necessary ruthlessness to send his beloved troops to face death. It is greatly to Maxwell's credit that he could perceive that there was a Lee inside Sheen.

That the moments of human intimacy in this movie are so much finer than its battles somewhat skews what I take to be Shaara's theme, as announced by the title of his book and encapsulated on screen in a speech made by Conway's Irish sergeant. Man is, as Hamlet would have it, "in reason...in faculties...in action how like an angel," but he's a killer angel on the field of battle. The Union man fights for an ideal of liberty, the Confederate for his community and a beloved way of life. And so both destroy their fellow Americans. In this movie, because of pungent dialogue and superb acting, we feel the psychological complexity and moral goodness of these soldiers. But the battles they fight (with the exception of Little Round Table) lack the necessary, veracious savagery. So there is more of the angelic than of the murderous in this version of *The Killer Angels*.

At any rate, in a few years *Gettysburg* will nicely survive transmigration to the medium for which it was originally intended. Like most good movies made for the tube, its real fireworks are in the acting rather than its visual design. Angelic killers? Angelic actors.

RICHARD ALLEVA

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One leap forward, one step back

POLAND'S JUMP TO THE MARKET ECONOMY
Jeffrey Sachs
The MIT Press, $19.95, 122 pp.

Timothy A. Byrnes

John Maynard Keynes once wrote that the ideas of economists are more powerful than is commonly understood. "Practical men," Keynes wrote, "who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." In the case of the practical men and women of Poland, however, their economist is anything but defunct. He is young, healthy, and the Galen L. Stone professor of international trade at Harvard University. Jeffrey Sachs was the guiding force behind "shock therapy," Poland's breathtaking leap away from its command economy in 1990. *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy* is Sachs's passionate defense of that leap and his steadfastly optimistic vision of Poland's economic future.

Professor Sachs was the leading economic advisor to Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy prime minister of Poland's first non-Communist government. As such, Sachs played a central role in devising the "Balcerowicz Plan," the set of radical economic reforms implemented on January 1, 1990. The plan had five components: macroeconomic stabilization through tighter credit policies; economic liberalization through the end of central planning and the institution of free trading practices; privatization, or the transfer of assets from public entities to private individuals; the construction of a "social safety net" to ameliorate the unavoidable suffering associated with the plan; and the aggressive pursuit of international financial support to help the plan work.

It is easy to see why this plan was dubbed "shock therapy." On the first day of January 1990, prices were destabilized, public subsidies were slashed, and Poland entered a new and very uncertain world. Prices rose 80 percent in just two weeks, and many inefficient and bloated public firms stumbled and fell almost immediately. The basic idea behind the plan was to coax goods to the shelves through more realistic prices and to encourage entrepreneurship by withdrawing structural advantages enjoyed by public concerns. Sachs, writing three years after the shock, is very enthusiastic about the results. He reports how, after initial hesitations, goods flooded into the shops, and how thousands and thousands of private enterprises sprang up in a very short period of time. For Sachs, Poland's jump to the market has been a tremendous success that should serve as model and encouragement for tentative leaders in Russia and elsewhere. Command economies are bad, Sachs argues, and the best way to get rid of a bad thing is to get rid of it as quickly as possible.

"And now over to our economics editor."

Moreover, Sachs addresses in turn each of the painful effects of shock therapy, and argues in each case that the pain is not nearly as bad as the press, and grousing Poles by the way, would have you believe. Yes, he concedes, wages have dropped over 30 percent in three years. But he counters that this 30 percent drop was from an artificially high wage plateau created by a crippled Communist government trying to avert its demise with generous, but ultimately futile, wage hikes. The wage hikes were futile, Sachs argues, because workers had no worthwhile goods to buy with their money. Now workers may have less money, but they have a staggering variety of goods to buy with what money they do have. Sachs points to higher per capita consumption of meat over the last three years as evidence of an actual rise in living standards at the same time that wages were plummeting. Similarly, Sachs argues that the 30 percent drop in industrial production that has beset Poland is not nearly the catastrophe it appears to be. The Communists had distorted the Polish economy with their single-minded pursuit of industry, and the sharp decline is, according to Sachs's scheme, a dramatic adjustment that will lead in time to a revival of Poland's dismal service sector.

Even if one accepts Sachs's arguments and statistics (and a great many economists do not), one is nevertheless struck by the degree to which Sachs's analysis is focused on the macroeconomic level. Sharp declines in production and employment levels, elimination of government subsidies, and sharply higher prices, regardless of their long-term effects on the Polish economy as a whole, translate into very real

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suffering for many, many Poles right now, and into an unsettling sense of insecurity for the population as a whole. Communism is disparaged for its obvious failures, and for its connection with Russian domination. But capitalism has turned out to be a system in which some people get tremendously rich, some people get frighteningly poor, and the great middle muddles along, hoping for the best, but aware that personal catastrophe could be just around the corner.

As a political scientist, it was refreshing for me to see the degree to which Sachs recognizes that Poland's current problems are political rather than economic. "Shock therapy" was set in motion by economic theory, but its long-term success depends on the enduring political support of a "shocked" population. As Sachs correctly points out, the Polish people, a people who have experienced little but tyranny and foreign occupation for two centuries, are being asked to trust their leaders and trust in the future. Quite understandably, this trust does not come naturally for many Poles.

In fact, for Sachs and other devotees of shock therapy, the recent national election in Poland ought to suggest just how fragile that trust is. The success of the Democratic Left Alliance, the so-called post-Communists, has brought into bold relief the terrible stress that radical economic reform has placed on Poland's fragile democracy. Many people have reacted to their current distress by recalling the securities and assurances of the previous system. A return to a command economy is out of the question. But larger old-age pensions, slower privatization, and greater subsidies to inefficient public industries will be the certain results of the population's rejection at the polls of radical reform. These events are a victory of political reality over economic theory, and, as such, a clear warning signal to economic reformers throughout the region. At the moment, the practical men and women of Poland are less the slaves of economists than they are the servants of an impatient and deeply worried public. □

NO PEACE IN VENGEANCE

DEAD MAN WALKING
Helen Prejean, C.S.J.
Random House, $21, 278 pp.

Hilary Hochman

After a protected upbringing in an upper-middle-class Catholic family in segregated 1950s' Baton Rouge, Helen Prejean joined the Convent of Saint Joseph of Medaille, where, until 1980, she led a comparatively sheltered existence as a teacher and novice counselor. *Dead Man Walking* is an account of her subsequent journey from working with residents of New Orleans housing projects to advising inmates on Louisiana's death row, to counseling crime victims' families.

Prejean first met a man on Louisiana's death row when she agreed to correspond with Elmo "Pat" Sonnier, who was facing execution for the murder of two teenagers. She became Sonnier's spiritual adviser, visiting him during his last weeks, and witnessing his death in the electric chair. The experience led her to organize efforts to educate the public about the realities of the death penalty in the United States and to obtain legal assistance for indigent prisoners under sentence of death.

As the spiritual adviser to death-row inmates, Prejean was troubled by her inability to comfort their victims' families. After one family expressed their hurt that she did not visit with them, Prejean began to meet with the families of homicide victims, eventually forming a counseling group for them.

Prejean describes herself as "an ordinary person [who] gets involved in extraordinary events." She may be doing herself a disservice, for throughout her book she displays courage and honesty. But her modest self-description does identify a problem with *Dead Man Walking*. Prejean is necessarily an almost peripheral character in many of the events she describes. Judging from her book, she does wonderful work advising and advocating for those most directly affected by the death penalty, but she is not herself one of those people. She is not under sentence of death, nor has she suffered the murder of a loved one. Yet she is the main character of *Dead Man Walking*, not simply as its narrator, but as the person most affected by the complex quandaries and the simple pain surrounding the death penalty.

For example, we primarily learn of Prejean's distress in the days before Pat Sonnier's execution: of her need to take sleeping pills, her fear as the date approaches, her vomiting by the side of the road after the execution. When meeting with victims' families, the focus is on Prejean's ambivalence about consoling the murderers, her fear of confronting the families, her inability to absorb the families' pain. Most death row inmates are compelling and vivid characters; Prejean works not only with these men but with many of the more colorful figures in Louisiana politics, death penalty litigation, and the Catholic church. Yet they are all only shadows on the page, figures to whom Prejean reacts. Prejean is virtually the only person portrayed with any real depth or complexity.

To be sure, the sometimes narrow perspective of *Dead Man Walking* has its advantages. Prejean is not preaching only to the converted. *Dead Man Walking* is not only a description of Prejean's work, it is also a meditation on the nature of capital punishment. People may have difficulty envisioning themselves or someone close to them as the victim of a homicide or as a condemned prisoner; the situation is too alien and extreme to invite empathy. Prejean's reactions, her pain and ambivalence, are more easily understood and identified with—she becomes the ordinary person, someone who has not perhaps thought deeply about capital pun-

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ishment, who has never been personally affected by the death penalty, suddenly confronted with its reality. Prejean's naiveté and occasional self-absorption are, after all, what almost everyone brings to any unfamiliar ethical problem; while they detract from her book, they may help to make her evolving beliefs about the death penalty more convincing. For in the end she reaffirms the conviction with which she began: the death penalty serves no purpose other than raw retribution, and there is no ethical or scriptural justification for killing, by the government or the individual. It is her experiences with the men on death row and the victims' families that convince both her and the reader that capital punishment serves no legitimate end, and it is here that being drawn so completely into her perspective as she visits inmates and families is sometimes effective.

The most convincing argument against the death penalty, and one of the book's most fully developed portraits, is a man named Vernon Harvey. Prejean meets Harvey when she advises Robert Lee Willie, convicted of raping and brutally murdering Harvey's teen-age stepdaughter. Harvey ultimately spends years seeking the death penalty for Robert Lee Willie, even considering killing Willie himself. Harvey takes his wife and fourteen-year-old daughter to stand outside the prison and cheer during executions. Harvey witnesses Willie's execution and, when asked how he feels after the event, answers "Do you want to dance?"

Yet Robert Lee Willie's execution brings Vernon Harvey no peace. Years later, Vernon Harvey is still angry and dissatisfied, spinning out fantasies of crueler methods of execution which would, he thinks, have satisfied him. Vernon Harvey still grieves and still rages, and has no object on which to focus his anger. Even vengeance has not been served. □

REVIEWERS

TIMOTHY A. BYRNES, *who teaches political science at Colgate University, spent the Spring of 1993 in Poland on a Fulbright grant.*

HILARY HOCHMAN, *a graduate of Yale Law School, currently represents Alabama prisoners under sentence of death.*

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

stances. The theologian Bernard Häring points out [London *Tablet*, October 23] that for John Paul II "the wrongness of contraception is much more absolute than the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill'"; it is clear, he wrote, that the pope would allow the prohibition against killing to be set aside in instances of self-defense or a just war.

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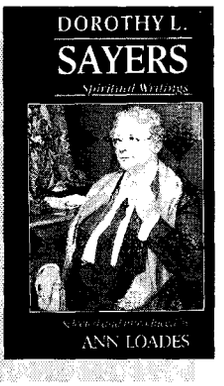

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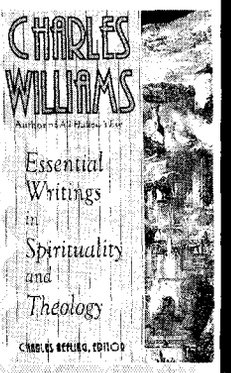

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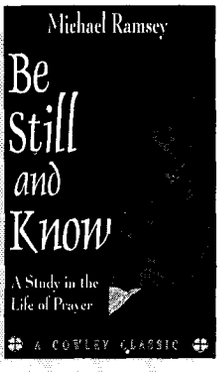

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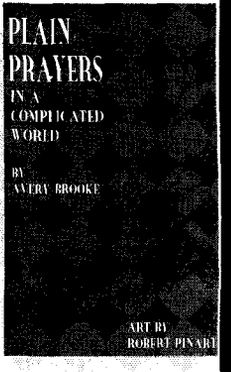

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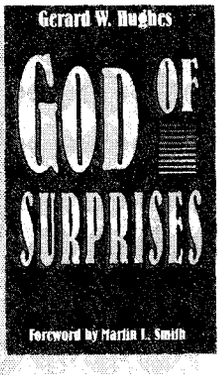

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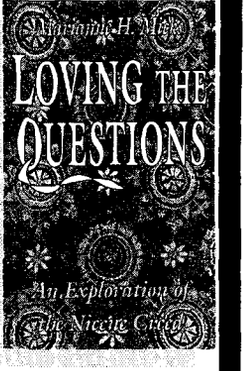

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